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Social Involvement a Study of Attitude Change Through Religious Training

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**SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT: A STUDY OF ATTITUDE CHANGE
THROUGH RELIGIOUS TRAINING**

by

John C. Prabhu, S.J.

**A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts**

May

1968

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LIFE

John C. Prabhu was born on March 31, 1933, in Mangalore, India. After grade and high school and two years of college at St. Aloysius*, Mangalore, he joined the Society of Jesus in 1951 in Calicut, India. After two years of noviceship and two years of classical studies, he began his philosophy course at the Pontifical Athenaeum, Poona, India, where he received the Bachelor of Philosophy and Licentiate in Philosophy in 1958.

He then taught for three years at Loyola High School, Jamshedpur, India. In 1961 he came to the United States to begin his theology course at Woodstock College, Woodstock, Maryland. Here he received his Bachelor of Sacred Theology in 1963, was ordained a priest in 1964, and was awarded the Licentiate in Sacred Theology in 1965.

After a year of ascetical studies and training at Our Lady of Martyrs Tertianship, Auriesville, New York, he came to Loyola University of Chicago in 1966 to begin his graduate studies in sociology.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
LIFE	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vii
 Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY	1
The Sociological Problem	
Significance of the Problem	
Relationship of the Problem to a Theoretical Framework	
Relationship of the Problem to Previous Research	
Hypotheses	
Subhypotheses	
Summary	
II. DEFINITION OF VARIABLES	19
Independent and Co-dependent Variables	
Dependent Variable	
Domestic problems in the United States	
Developing nations	
Social apostolate	
The Question of Values	
Summary	
III. RESEARCH PROCEDURES	42
Operational Design	
Subjects	
Data Collection Techniques	
Analysis of Results	
The Question of Causality	
Generalization	
Summary	
IV. PROFILE OF THE JESUIT SCHOLASTIC	49
Social Background	

- Ethnic origins
- Degree of assimilation
- Social classes
- Urban-rural background
- Socialization
 - Religious atmosphere
 - Political atmosphere
 - Catholic education
 - Courses in Christian social doctrine and social sciences
 - Reading
- Personality Predisposition
 - Reference groups
 - Prejudice
 - Authoritarianism
- Modal Jesuit Scholastic in the Sample

V. ITEM ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE SCALE 86

- Race Relations
- Poverty
- International Issues
- War
- Migrant Labor
- Unionization
- Social Consciousness
- Individualism
- Summary

VI. ANALYSIS OF VARIABLES 109

- Grades of Training
- Age
- Ethnicity
- Degree of Assimilation
- Social Class
- Type and Size of Community of Origin
- Socialization
- Formal Education
- Reading
- Personality Traits
- Summary

VII. SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT OF JESUIT SCHOLASTICS 130

- Discussions
- Social Action
- Contacts with Minority Groups
- Preferences for Future Apostolic Works
- Endorsement of Purposes of Jesuit Education
- Summary

VIII. INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS	143
Summary of Findings	
Relationship of the Findings to Theory	
Limitations of the Thesis and Unanswered Questions	
Summary of the Thesis	
Conclusion	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	156
SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY OF JESUIT SCHOLASTICS' ATTITUDES . . .	161

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Number and Percentage of Returns	50
2. Distribution of the Six Sample Groups according to Age	52
3. Ethnic Origins: Father's Ethnic Group	52
4. Ethnic Origins: Mother's Ethnic Group	54
5. Degree of Assimilation	54
6. Social Class according to Hollingshead's Two-Factor Index of Social Position	56
7. Social Class according to Richard Centers' Self-Evaluation Check List	56
8. Percentage Distribution of Objective Social Classes among Three Samples of Religious	59
9. Correlation of Objective and Subjective Social Classes	60
10. Percentage of Ethnic Groups in Each Social Class . .	61
11. Type and Size of the Community of Origin	62
12. Religious Atmosphere in the Childhood Home	62
13. Religious Atmosphere in the Childhood Home, by Social Class	65
14. Political Atmosphere in the Childhood Home	66
15. Amount of Catholic Education before Entrance into the Society of Jesus	66
16. Amount of Catholic Education before Entrance into the Society of Jesus, by Social Class	67
17. Courses in Christian Social Doctrine	69

18.	Courses in the Social Sciences	69
19.	Number and Percentage of Respondents with No Courses in Christian Social Doctrine and the Social Sciences	71
20.	Documents on Christian Social Doctrine	72
21.	Number of Documents on Christian Social Doctrine Read, by Grades of Training	72
22.	Catholic Newspapers and Periodicals	74
23.	Secular Newspapers and Periodicals	75
24.	Number and Percentage of Respondents Who Read No Newspaper or Periodical	76
25.	Books on Social Questions Read in the Last Six Months	76
26.	Number of Respondents Who Expect "Very Much Benefit" from Each of a List of Leaders of Discussions on Modern Social Problems	78
27.	Number of Respondents Who Expect "No Benefit" from Each of a List of Leaders of Discussions on Modern Social Problems	78
28.	Childhood Racial Prejudice	81
29.	Childhood Racial Prejudice, by Social Class	81
30.	Childhood Racial Prejudice, by Ethnic Group	82
31.	Authoritarianism	83
32.	Jesuit Scholastics Compared with Loyola Under- graduates on Authoritarianism	83
33.	Cognitive Attitude Statement on Race Relations: "For the Most Part, Negroes Have as Good Employ- ment Opportunities in the United States as the Whites."	88
34.	Cognitive Attitude Statement on Race Relations: "When a Negro Family Moves into an All-White Neighborhood, the Property Values of All Residences Drop Inevitable."	88
35.	Cognitive Attitude Statement on Race Relations:	

	"Strong Anti-Riot Legislation is the Best Way to Prevent Race Riots in the Cities."	88
36.	Cognitive Attitude Statement on Race Relations: "A Person Has the Right to Refuse to Sell His Home to Negroes."	89
37.	Cognitive Attitude Statement on Race Relations: "The High Rate of Crime, Illegitimacy, Poverty, and Ignorance among Negroes Shows that They Are Not Ready Yet for Civil Rights."	89
38.	Cognitive Attitude Statement on Race Relations: "A Private Country Club Has the Right to Exclude Qualified Negroes from Membership."	89
39.	Affective Attitude Statement on Race Relations: "Negro and White Children Should Attend the Same Schools."	92
40.	Affective Attitude Statement on Race Relations: "Manual Labor and Unskilled Jobs Seem to Fit the Negroes' Ability Better than More Skilled or Responsible Work."	92
41.	Affective Attitude Statement on Race Relations: "Negroes Must Respect the Rights of White People to Maintain Their Own Neighborhoods."	92
42.	Affective Attitude Statement on Race Relations: "Whenever I Hear of Marriages between Whites and Negroes, I Welcome Them as a Sign of Improving Race Relations."	93
43.	Affective Attitude Statement on Race Relations: "Negroes Should Not Claim Their Right to Live in Areas where They Are Not Wanted."	93
44.	Affective Attitude Statement on Race Relations: "To Prevent the Growth of Slums, the Government Should Restrict the Migration of Negroes and Puerto Ricans to the Cities."	93
45.	Behavioral Attitude Statement on Race Relations: "If Superiors Permit It, I Would Wish to Live in an Inner-City Neighborhood which is Predominantly Colored."	95
46.	Behavioral Attitude Statement on Race Relations: "Jesuits Should Get More Involved in Such Areas as Race Relations, War on Poverty, Labor Relations,	

etc."	95
47. Behavioral Attitude Statement on Race Relations: "The Society of Jesus Has Done Enough to Harmonize Race Relations in This Country."	95
48. Cognitive Attitude Statement on Poverty: "The Most Fundamental Cause of Blighted Neighborhoods Is Negligence and Vandalism."	97
49. Cognitive Attitude Statement on Poverty: "Disinclination to Work and Living beyond Means Are the Main Causes of Poverty."	97
50. Cognitive Attitude Statement on International Issues: "Overpopulation Is One of the Greatest Obstacles to the Economic Development of Most of Asia and Latin America."	97
51. Cognitive Attitude Statement on International Issues: "The United States Is Doing More than Its Share in Giving Economic Aid to the Developing Nations."	99
52. Behavioral Attitude Statement on International Issues: "All Jesuits Should Be Ready to Spend Part of Their Apostolic Career in the Developing Countries."	99
53. Affective Attitude Statement on War: "The Best Way for the United States to Combat Communism Is to Severely Punish Its Every Act of Aggression." . .	99
54. Cognitive Attitude Statement on Migrant Labor: "It Is Unfair to Hire a Mexican Farm Laborer below the Minimum Wage Even if He Is Willing to Work for It."	101
55. Cognitive Attitude Statement on Unionization: "A Charitable Institution, like a Catholic Hospital, May Justifiably Forbid the Unionization of Its Personnel."	101
56. Behavioral Attitude Statement on Social Consciousness: "When I Am Absorbed in My Own Work, I Tend to Neglect the Rest of the World."	101
57. Behavioral Attitude Statement on Social Consciousness: "When I Hear of People who Are Deprived of Freedom and of Just Treatment, I Find Myself Planning how I Can Help Them."	104

58.	Behavioral Attitude Statement on Social Consciousness: "A Priest Should Be as Deeply Involved in the Social Welfare of People as He Is in Giving Purely Spiritual or Sacramental Services."	104
59.	Behavioral Attitude Statement on Social Consciousness: "Religious Leaders Should Not Take a Public Stand on Issues which Are Connected with Politics."	104
60.	Affective Attitude Statement on Individualism: "The Effort of Individuals Is More Important than Government Planning in Solving Social and Economic Problems."	105
61.	Behavioral Attitude Statement on Individualism: "The Best Way to Improve World Conditions Is for Each Man to Attend Seriously to His Own Reform." .	105
62.	Affective Attitude Statement on Individualism "Catholics Must Cooperate in Social Action Programs, Such as Running a Non-Profit Employment Agency for the Unemployed Poor, which Are Originated by Protestants or Jews."	105
63.	SRAS Scores, by Grades of Training	110
64.	SRAS Scores, by Age Groups	111
65.	Median SRAS Scores of the Six Groups with Age Controlled	112
66.	SRAS Scores, by Father's Ethnic Group	112
67.	SRAS Scores, by Mother's Ethnic Group	113
68.	SRAS Scores, by Degrees of Assimilation	114
69.	SRAS Scores, by Objective Social Classes	115
70.	SRAS Scores, by Subjective Social Classes	116
71.	SRAS Scores, by Size and Type of Community of Origin	117
72.	Social Classes, by Type of Community of Origin . . .	118
73.	SRAS Scores, by Religious Atmosphere of Childhood Home	118
74.	SRAS Scores, by Political Atmosphere of Childhood	

Home	119
75. SRAS Scores, by Family Political Affiliation	119
76. SRAS Scores, by Amount of Catholic Education in Childhood	120
77. SRAS Scores, by Courses in Christian Social Doctrine	121
78. SRAS Scores, by Social Science Courses	122
79. SRAS Scores, by Reading of Documents on Christian Social Doctrine	123
80. SRAS Scores, by Reading of Catholic Newspapers and Periodicals	124
81. SRAS Scores, by Reading of Secular Newspapers and Periodicals	125
82. SRAS Scores, by Reading of Books on Social Questions	126
83. SRAS Scores, by Childhood Prejudice against Negroes	126
84. SRAS Scores, by Authoritarianism	128
85. Frequency of Informal Discussions on Current Affairs, by Grades of Training	132
86. Participation in Organized Discussions on Social Questions in the Last Three Months, by Grades of Training	132
87. Participation in Organized Social Action since Entrance into the Society of Jesus, by Grades of Training	132
88. Present Participation in Organized Social Action, by Grades of Training	134
89. Plans for Future Participation in Social Action by Grades of Training	134
90. Organizing Social Action Groups, by Grades of Training	134
91. Contacts with Negroes, by Grades of Training	136
92. Visiting Slums and Ghettoes, by Grades of Training .	136

93.	Preferences for Future Apostolic Works	137
94.	Preferences for Apostolic Works of Thesis Sample Compared with Those of All American Jesuit Scholastics	139
95.	Endorsement of a List of Purposes of Jesuit Education	141

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

In recent years self-evaluation studies have become quite common and accepted in the Roman Catholic Church. There are of course people who are suspicious of them; some others doubt their value; and a portion including clergy and bishops think they are a waste of time and money. It might be justifiably doubted that each and every sociological study has practical applicability. But the scientific investigation of religion as a sociological fact does give us valuable insights into man's religious behavior and also helps to integrate this phase of human culture with other areas of man's life and activity on earth.

It is from this point of view that the present study of Jesuit scholastics might be considered interesting and useful. As a Jesuit with a commitment to the social apostolate especially in his own homeland, a developing nation, the present writer was interested in finding out what were the factors which produced a "vocation" to the social apostolate. The reasons why a person would wish to spend his life in the betterment of the social condition under which men live are probably very diverse. Not all of them come under the scope of this thesis. The strictly spiritual causes, such as an inspiration from the Holy Spirit, or

psychological motives are beyond the capability of the writer to investigate or analyse. So this thesis attempts to find out which aspects of the socialization and social background of Jesuit scholastics influence their socio-religious attitudes.

At this point it is necessary to define our concepts and to fit them into context. Since the subjects of this inquiry are Jesuit scholastics who are members of the Society of Jesus, also called the Jesuit order, a brief introduction on that order is called for. Jesuits are members of a religious order of the Roman Catholic Church who bind themselves to live under poverty, chastity, and obedience. The order was founded in 1540 in Rome by Ignatius Loyola, a former soldier and a Basque nobleman. The purpose of the founding of the order was to have a well trained and highly mobile group of men who would be at the disposal of the Roman Pontiff for any purpose he thought fit according to the pressing needs of the moment. Starting with a handful of graduates of the University of Paris, the Society of Jesus has now grown to be the largest religious order in the Roman Catholic Church. At the beginning of 1967 its membership stood at 35,573 men distributed in 90 countries in all the continents of the world. There are 7,820 Jesuits in the United States in 11 provinces engaged mainly in conducting 56 high schools and 28 colleges and universities. They also run many parishes and retreat houses. The present thesis is limited to the Chicago and Detroit provinces, which encompass the states of Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky. There are 1,156 Jesuits who are members of

these 2 provinces, of whom 353 are scholastics.

The training of a Jesuit consists of six successive stages. A typical candidate for the Society is a high school graduate and about eighteen years old. The first period of his formation consists of two years which "is a time at once of probation and of formation, during which the grace of vocation should be cultivated and during which it should already manifest its fruitfulness."¹ After two years of intense spiritual formation, the Novice pronounces his vows and is then ready for the juniorate, which is a training in letters and sciences. This is followed by two years of philosophy and two or three years of teaching or graduate studies. Subsequently, the scholastic begins his four-year course in theology during which he is ordained a priest. After theology he is given a final year of spiritual and pastoral training.

This used to be the general structure of a Jesuit's period of training. While the overall purpose of the formation--spiritual, intellectual, and pastoral--is preserved, much more flexibility is being introduced these days. In fact, the Jesuit's training may be now said to be in a period of transition. However, for the purposes of the thesis the six-stage structure is preserved. During these stages the scholastic is called Novice, Junior, Philosopher, Regent, Theologian, and Tertian. This terminology will be retained throughout the thesis.

¹Documents of the Thirty-First General Congregation
(Woodstock, Md., 1967), p. 21.

The sociological problem

The thesis attempts to find out which factors in the socialization and social background of Jesuit scholastics determine their socio-religious attitudes. Several definitions of attitudes are given. Shaw and Wright define attitude as entailing "an existing predisposition to respond to social objects which, in interaction with situational and other dispositional variables, guides and directs the overt behavior of the individual."¹ Further on in their work they call attitude "a relatively enduring system of evaluative, affective reactions based upon and reflecting the evaluative concepts or beliefs which have been learned about the characteristics of a social object or class of social objects."² So an attitude is a stance which an individual takes towards an object, which derives from and reflects his system of beliefs and values.

Daniel Katz distinguishes an attitude from opinion and belief in the following excerpt,

Attitude is the predisposition of the individual to evaluate some symbol or object or aspect of his world in a favorable or unfavorable manner. Opinion is the verbal expression of an attitude. . . . When specific attitudes are organized into a hierarchical structure, they comprise value systems.³

Secord and Backman put forth the view that an attitude is a comp-

¹Marvin Shaw and J. M. Wright, Scales for the measurement of attitudes (New York, 1966), p. 2.

²Ibid., p. 3.

³Daniel Katz, "The functional approach to the study of attitudes," Public opinion quarterly, XXIV (Summer, 1960), p. 98.

osite of feelings, thoughts, and predispositions to act. They explain their view by the following example.

The three components may be illustrated by an individual's attitude toward foreign aid. (1) The affective component of the attitude is his vigorous emotional feeling against foreign aid; this component is inferred from the fact that his blood pressure rises when he reads of large appropriations for this purpose, or when he encounters someone who stoutly defends foreign aid; or it is inferred from his angry behavior when he argues with a proponent of aid. (2) The cognitive component of his attitude consists of his ideas about foreign aid; this component is inferred from what he says he believes; for example, he may say that giving money to foreign countries impoverishes Americans, that the money is mainly siphoned off in the form of graft to officials of the foreign government, and that his country will receive nothing in return. (3) The behavioral component consists of action tendencies. These are inferred from what he says he will do or what he actually does; he writes his congressman telling him to vote against foreign aid bills, he denounces aid in conversation with friends and associates, and he reads articles written by persons who are against foreign aid.¹

So we can define socio-religious attitudes as a person's feelings, thoughts, and predispositions to act towards social objects, events, or issues in a way which is conformed to Christian social principles as enunciated in papal social encyclicals. This study investigates the attitudes of Jesuit scholastics towards current social issues to see whether the religious training they have undergone influences their value-attitude system so as to bring it more into conformity with the principles which the Roman Catholic Church has officially enunciated as being norms for the thinking and behavior of Catholics towards social issues. A further purpose of the thesis is to test various aspects of the

¹Paul F. Secord and Carl W. Backman, Social psychology (New York, 1964), p. 98.

scholastics' social background and socialization to find which one of them, if any, has a marked influence on their attitude formation.

The task of the thesis then is to measure the attitudes of Jesuit scholastics towards current social issues and to compare them to the norms which are proposed in recent Church documents as being desirable Christian attitudes. It is expected that the religious training received by future Jesuit priests gives them progressively an integrated vision of reality from the point of view of sound philosophy and Christian theology. As this viewpoint gradually grows and as its elements come to be internalized, it supplies the evaluative concepts and beliefs which are needed to take ethical stances toward social issues and events.

Here we run into the problem of theological pluralism and the present state of flux of Catholic thinking. Some effort has to be made to skirt this obstacle. For one thing, the thesis will try to investigate the general underlying vision of reality of the subjects rather than their specific opinions. Of course, the underlying system of attitudes and values are gauged only by measurable indicants, which have to be specific in order to be handled by the tools of sociology. There is no full and satisfactory solution to this problem, except to be selective in choosing out elements of Christian social doctrine to be tested on the subjects. The generalizations will apply to these specific principles and these specific issues. The writer will not quarrel with any other viewpoint generating any other attitude which also

claims to be genuinely Christian. As a student of sociology it is not the writer's task to engage in theological polemics. He proposes to measure the socio-religious attitudes of the subjects against some selected Christian principles, and only these. The writer will thus hopefully evade the thorny problem of theological pluralism.

Significance of the problem

Recent events with regard to racial tensions, the growing realization of the existence of pockets of poverty within affluence, and the moral reappraisal of the use of violence in solving international problems, show that the problem is timely. Many questions are being asked of the Church, its past ethical stances or absence thereof and present involvement. Has the Church acted as the conscience of the people or has it merely reflected the deep-seated prejudices and amoral opinions of its membership? Or, in the words of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., has the Church been a thermometer instead of being a thermostat? Has Catholic education put across to future Catholic adults principles of Christian charity and justice? Have priests and religious given moral leadership to the people or have they been dragging their feet, or what is even worse, joining in the conspiracy of silence? In this time of grave social crises the Church has been repeatedly called upon to state its principles, and challenged to show that "catholic" means "for all."¹

¹See Matthew Ahmann, "The Church and the urban Negro."

The Catholic clergy have been especially singled out for their slowness in giving leadership and inspiration to Catholics to be socially concerned. The realization has dawned that often a priest is only as good as the training he has received. If the principles of the "natural law," of the Gospels, and of the Church's magisterium with regard to social justice have not been sufficiently inculcated in him in his years of training, he will not be concerned enough about flagrant social evils, and will not consider involvement in social action as pertaining to his vocation.

The problem of the thesis has also practical applicability, because a scholastic's attitudes will have a necessary influence on his behavior. If he does not have the right Christian attitudes, he will not be engaged in the appropriate action which is calculated to bring about a just Christian social order. The results of the thesis will help us to predict the future measure of involvement of the Society of Jesus in social action.

The problem is concerned with a fairly wide population. What is said about Jesuit scholastics can with a few qualifications be said of scholastics of other religious orders and of seminarians who are preparing themselves for the diocesan priesthood. It is potentially influential population. American Jesuit scholastics are being trained chiefly to staff the high schools, colleges, and universities run by the Society of Jesus in the

United States. Through these institutions of learning they will be able to influence approximately 200,000 students. Various other publics will also be influenced by the preaching, writing, counseling, and social action of Jesuits. It is important, therefore, to know the socio-religious attitudes of future Jesuit priests.

This study also fills a research gap. Inquiries have been made into the attitudes of students in Catholic institutions of primary, secondary, and higher education. Sister M. Anthony Claret Sparks has investigated the socio-religious attitudes, awareness, and involvement of Chicago's teaching sisters. Joseph Fichter has made researches into the attitudes of priests. But no study has been published on the socio-religious attitudes of Roman Catholic seminarians. This study hopes to make a contribution to a critical area of research. Although strictly speaking it will permit generalizations only about Jesuit scholastics in the Mid-Western part of the United States, legitimate conclusions might also be drawn about all Jesuit scholastics in the United States, since candidates for the Society of Jesus and the training to which they are subjected are sufficiently uniform in all the provinces in the United States. However, generalizations about all seminarians will not be made, since the requirements for admission and training differ in significant respects from one religious order to another and from the diocesan priesthood.

This thesis has several implications for a fairly wide range of practical problems. It is related to the difficult

problem of seminary reform in a time of change. It has connections with the Church's involvement in social issues. It seeks to clarify some of the possible reasons for hesitation on the part of Catholic clergy and religious in speaking out on the moral aspects of social issues. It will also hopefully reveal the "new breed" seminarian and his attitudes and what they presage for the future of the Church in the United States.

The thesis may be said to have made a contribution to research in that it is an instance of the use of a cross-sectional survey to obtain conclusions which can be made generally only from a panel study. Instead of repeatedly testing the attitudes of one group of seminarians over a period of several years, the present writer simultaneously measured the attitudes of six groups of scholastics in six successive stages of formation. Thus a social process which is stretched out over a period of more than ten years is studied as a dynamic unit at one moment of time.

Relationship of the problem to a theoretical framework

The basic theoretical problem with which this study is concerned is the impact of the sacred on the secular. Here it is the influence of religion on the attitudes of its adherents towards the society in which they live. It derives from a body of theory which goes back to Max Weber and Emile Durkheim and perhaps even to Auguste Comte.

The power of religion to organize society had been recognized by the father of modern sociology, Auguste Comte. He even

tried to establish a new religion of Humanity, which would perform the socially useful function of traditional religion. Max Weber wrote his classic, The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism, in which he demonstrated that without the Protestant Reformation modern Western capitalism would never have developed. Thus he illustrated the profound influence which a system of religious thought can have on economic and social life. Emile Durkheim proposed that religion was the source of all higher culture. In his work on Suicide he showed that the difference in the suicide rates of Protestant and Catholic countries was due to the different systems of social organization prevailing in these countries. He contended that these different systems derived from different ideologies advocated by Protestantism and Catholicism. Protestantism with its insistence on the freedom of the individual gave rise to a loosely organized social structure, while Catholicism with its emphasis on authority produced greater social cohesion. It was the latter social support which sustained an anomie person and decreased the likelihood of his taking his own life.

The importance of religion in the social structure of the United States has been brought out by two contemporary authors in well-known monographs, Will Herberg in Protestant Catholic Jew and Gerhard Lenski in The religious factor. According to Herberg, American society is getting differentiated into three large socio-religious groups, Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. These differ from each other in historical background and geographic origin, in

social structure and cultural system, and in their place in the totality of American life. In the words of Ruby Jo Kennedy,

The 'triple melting pot' type of assimilation is occurring through intermarriage, with Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism serving as the three fundamental bulwarks. . . . The different nationalities are merging, but within three religious compartments rather than indiscriminately. . . . A triple religious cleavage, rather than a multilinear nationality cleavage, therefore seems likely to characterize American society in the future.¹

According to Gerhard Lenski's findings in his Detroit Area Study of 1958, Catholics and Protestants differ from one another in economic and political behavior and in family life. Lenski concludes that

it is clear that religion in various ways is constantly influencing the daily lives of the masses of men and women in the modern American metropolis. More than that; through its impact on individuals, religion makes an impact on all the other institutional systems of the community these individuals staff. Hence the influence of religion operates at the social level as well as the personal level.²

Lenski's "religious factor" was studied from various angles with reference to the Roman Catholic community. In a number of recent studies Catholic education was taken as an arm of social control used by the Roman Catholic Church to conform its adherents to its religious and social ideology. The best known of these investigations are Joseph Fichter's monograph, Parochial school (1958), the work of Andrew Greeley and Peter Rossi as

¹Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, "Single or triple melting pot? Intermarriage trends in New Haven, 1870-1940," American journal of sociology, XLIX, No. 4 (1944.)

²Gerhard Lenski, The religious factor (rev. ed.; New York, 1963), p. 320.

reported in The education of Catholic Americans (1966), and the Notre Dame study, Catholic schools in action (1966.) These studies bear out the conclusions that Catholic education has a sizeable effect on the social, economic, political, and religious attitudes of those who are exposed to its influence.

In the present thesis the Society of Jesus will be taken as a subunit in the organizational system of the Roman Catholic Church. As Lenski points out,

To understand the power of socio-religious groups it is essential to recognize their capacity to absorb primary groups as subunits in their organizational system. Because of this the norms of socio-religious groups are constantly reinforced in those intimate, highly valued social relationships which are so crucial in the shaping of personality.¹

By its system of education which is given in the context of a total organization set-up combined with primary group relations the Jesuit order seeks to make its members truly "men of the Church."

Relationship of the problem to previous research

Many empirical studies have been made on the problem of religion as a means of social control. Gerhard Lenski's Detroit Area Study is the most comprehensive attempt to measure the consequences of socio-religious group membership.

Depending on the socio-religious group to which a person belongs, the probabilities are increased or decreased that he will enjoy his occupation, indulge in installment buying, save to achieve objectives far in the future, believe in the American Dream, vote Republican, favor the welfare state, take a liberal view on the issue of freedom of speech, oppose

¹Ibid., p. 344.

racial integration in the schools, migrate to another community, maintain close ties with his family, develop a commitment to the principle of intellectual autonomy, have a large family, complete a given unit of education, or rise in the class system.¹

To make sure that the given relationship was not merely a by-product of other factors such as class, region of birth, or immigrant generation, Lenski applied controls of various types. "In the majority of instances such controls did not appreciably affect the relationship in question, and when they did have a more substantial effect, they were almost as likely to strengthen the relationship as to weaken it."²

The three studies of Catholic schools mentioned above have been rather extensive in their scope. Social attitudes were only one of the many effects of Catholic education which they investigated. Joseph Fichter compared the students of a public school and a parochial school. His conclusion was that "the pupils of St. Luke's school demonstrated more favorable attitudes than the public school children on practically all of the statements made concerning concrete social problems of the adult world."³ In the Notre Dame study of Catholic student attitudes, the procedure for analysis was to specify the modal responses of the entire student population for each questionnaire and to identify the background variables associated with the various responses. Sex, social class, and religious background were found to be associated with

¹Ibid., p. 320. ²Ibid., p. 344.

³Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., Parochial school (Notre Dame, 1958), p. 130.

attitudes conforming to Catholic ideals.

The Greeley-Rossi study of the National Opinion Research Center compared Catholic graduates who had all Catholic education with those who had some and no Catholic education. The present study comes closest to this research design since it will compare the attitudes of those who have had varying degrees of exposure to Jesuit training with a control group of college students who have had no experience of seminary life. According to the Greeley-Rossi report "there is a moderate but significant association (usually between .2 and .3) between Catholic education and adult religious behavior, an association which survives under a wide variety of socio-economic, demographic, and religious controls."¹

Philip E. Jacob attempted to find out what changes occurred in students' patterns of value during college, and to what extent such changes were due to exposure to social science instruction. He discovered

no model syllabus for a basic social science course, no pedigree of instructor and no wizardry of instructional method which should be patented for its impact on the values of students. . . . Potency to affect student values is found in the distinctive climate of a few institutions, the individual and personal magnetism of a sensitive teacher with strong value-commitments of his own, or value-laden personal experiences of students imaginatively integrated with their intellectual development.²

Numerous attitude studies have been conducted by graduate

¹A. Greeley and P. Rossi, The education of Catholic Americans (Chicago, 1966), p. 219.

²Philip E. Jacob, Changing values in college (New York, 1957), p. 11.

students using religion or religious education as the independent variable. To mention a few, Edward A. Marciniak studied the racial attitudes of Catholic college students in the Chicago area.¹ Sister Anthony Claret Sparks investigated the attitudes, awareness, and involvement of Chicago's teaching sisters in current social issues.² Paula McNicholas Condon related attitudinal variations of Catholic high school senior girls to social class and ethnicity.³ Thomas Gannon has done much work on the interesting question of religious background and juvenile delinquency.⁴

Hypotheses

In the present thesis various determinants are sought for the formation of the socio-religious attitudes of Jesuit scholastics. In the light of the theoretical background proposed above,

¹"The racial attitudes of students in the Catholic colleges of the Chicago area" (unpublished Master's thesis, Loyola University of Chicago, 1942.)

²M. Anthony Claret Sparks, O.S.F., "Attitudes, awareness and involvement of Chicago's teaching sisters in current social issues; a study of religion as social control" (unpublished Master's thesis, Loyola University of Chicago, 1967.)

³"Attitudinal variations of Catholic high school senior girls especially towards social responsibility related to social class and ethnic background" (unpublished Master's thesis, Loyola University of Chicago, 1967.)

⁴Thomas Michael Gannon, S.J., "Religious control and delinquent behavior; an analysis of the religious orientation of a group of delinquent Catholic boys" (unpublished Master's thesis, Loyola University of Chicago, 1961); "Religious control and delinquent behavior," Sociology and social research, LI (July, 1967), pp. 418-31; "Religious attitude and behavior changes of institutional delinquents," Sociological analysis, XXVIII, No. 4 (1967),

religious training is taken as the independent variable. Greeley and Rossi present three different kinds of intervening influences which might be relevant to attitude formation in the process of socialization and education. First, there are the demographic factors, such as age, sex, ethnic background, and place of origin. Second, there are social-class variables, namely, occupation and education both of the respondent and his parents. Thirdly, there are factors which are essentially religious, namely, the religious atmosphere in the childhood home, and the practice of religion by the parents. In other studies some or all of these factors have been taken as determinants, and hypotheses have been built showing their relationship to attitudes. Within the theoretical framework of the thesis, religious training along with a number of selected factors in the social background and socialization of the respondents are taken as independent and co-dependent variables, as follows.

1. Religious training influences the socio-religious attitudes of Jesuit scholastics.

2. The variation in socio-religious attitudes is attributable to differences in grades of training, personality predisposition, social background, and socialization.

Subhypotheses

1. Socio-religious attitudes vary directly with the grade of religious training.

2. Socio-religious attitudes vary directly with
 - a) degree of cultural assimilation,
 - b) social class,
 - c) urbanization,
 - d) religious atmosphere of the childhood home,
 - e) political atmosphere of the childhood home,
 - f) degree of Catholic education,
 - g) courses in Christian social doctrine and/or social sciences,
 - h) kind and amount of reading.
3. Socio-religious attitudes vary inversely with
 - a) childhood prejudice against Negroes,
 - b) authoritarian personality disposition,
 - c) ethnicity,
 - d) age.

Summary

The problem of the thesis has to do with the influence of religious training on the socio-religious attitudes of Jesuit scholastics. It is connected with the theoretical question of religion as social control. In the light of related literature religious training is hypothesized to influence the socio-religious attitudes of Jesuit scholastics. But there are various factors in the social background and socialization of the candidates which also promote or impede the process of attitude change.

CHAPTER II

DEFINITION OF VARIABLES

After stating the problem of the thesis, placing it within a theoretical framework, and formulating hypotheses which are to be tested, it remains to define the concepts which make up the hypotheses and to give a theoretical justification for this particular formulation of hypotheses. For it is the task of the researcher to formulate "middle range" or miniature theories that will link his hypotheses to a more inclusive theory. And then empirical evidence will support not only the hypotheses and the miniature theory but also the theoretical system, inasmuch as theory gives rise to empirical questions, which, when answered by the findings of research, confirm the theoretical system.

Independent and co-dependent variables

In the conceptual framework of the present thesis religious training is taken as the principal independent variable. By religious training we mean that unified and structured educational process to which candidates for the priesthood in the Society of Jesus are subjected in order to give them the spiritual, emotional, and intellectual qualities required to participate in the worldwide apostolate of the Society of Jesus. This training is taken as an arm of social control exercised by a socio-religious

sub-group, the Society of Jesus, to conform its members to the ideology of the parent organization, the Roman Catholic Church.

A host of co-dependent variables which derive from the social background and socialization of the candidate are hypothesized to either facilitate or hinder the religious training of the candidates. The first of these is the degree of cultural assimilation. Assimilation is the adoption by a person or group of the culture of another social group to such a complete extent that the person or group no longer has any characteristic identifying him with his former culture.¹ In American society assimilation refers to the process by which immigrants take on the characteristics of American culture and ultimately become fully acculturated. The longer a person's family has lived in this country, the more Americanized he is, so that the degree of his Americanization can be measured by the number of generations his family has lived in the United States. The more Americanized a person is the more security he has in this country and thus the more favorable his attitudes to people around him.

By the same token, a person who belongs to an ethnic group which has immigrated more recently to the United States and is different from the rest of the population in language, culture, and mores, and is therefore "less American," has a tendency towards ethnocentrism. It is the belief that one's own group and

¹This definition and all the other definitions of sociological terms in this chapter are adapted from Arnold M. Rose, "Definitions of selected sociological terms" (unpublished mimeographed notes, n.d.)

culture are superior to all others or the characteristic of judging other groups in terms of the values of one's own culture. This can have a marked effect on a person's social attitudes. Though ethnocentrism and ethnicity are not synonymous, the more closely knit and culturally separate a person's ethnic group, the more he is likely to be ethnocentric.

Another important variable is social class. Class is an arbitrary status group in which membership is conferred by characteristic status-conferring factors in the society, such as wealth, education, and family background. It is possible to measure a person's class standing by taking stock of these objective criteria. August B. Hollingshead has originated a technique to place a person within his social class.¹ When there is conscious recognition of affiliation we have subjective social class. W. Lloyd Warner and August B. Hollingshead have shown in their theoretical and empirical works that social attitudes are remarkably correlated with class. Richard Centers in his The psychology of social classes explains a device for finding out the social class affiliation of the respondent. In addition to the upper, middle, and lower classes, Centers entered a new category of "working class" in order to separate the "honest" lower class from the middle class. The attitudes and opinions of the middle and working class differed considerably. In general, the upper classes have more "favorable" social attitudes because of the

¹"Two factor index of social position" ((New Haven, 1965.)

security of their position in the social structure. The lower classes like recent immigrants and minorities feel threatened by various groups within society toward whom they show hostility.

Integral to the structuring of social classes are

tendencies toward common conceptions by their members of the qualifications for membership in them, tendencies toward common conceptions by their members of the occupational characteristics of their membership, tendencies toward common attitudes, beliefs, and behavior in political matters, and perhaps tendencies toward common attitudes, beliefs, and behavior in many other ways as yet undiscovered and undefined.¹

The degree of urbanization of the respondent was taken as a third intervening variable. Urbanization refers to a person's urban as opposed to rural background. The type of social life generally found in urban areas is called urbanism. It is characterized by numerous segmentalized and secondary contacts. The anonymity and mobility of urban life makes urban people tolerant of others especially minorities, more so than rural people who live in socially homogeneous communities. Therefore a person's rural or urban background has a decided effect on his attitudes.

When we come to socialization proper, three elements are singled out for testing. First, the spiritual soundness of the childhood home. From numerous studies this has been found to have an effect on the formation of the children's attitudes. Secondly, the political atmosphere of the childhood home which can be looked upon as party affiliation or as conservative, liberal, and

¹Richard Centers, The psychology of social classes (Princeton, 1949), pp. 210-11.

moderate viewpoint on public affairs. Thirdly, the degree of religious education, here parochial school education, is hypothesized to be related to attitudes, as it has been substantiated in recent studies of parochial school children and graduates of Catholic schools and colleges. It is easy to see that those who had formal schooling in Christian doctrine and morals would be at a greater advantage in forming social attitudes which are in conformity with Christian principles. No objective criteria are used to gauge the spiritual soundness and political atmosphere of the childhood home, but the subject's own evaluation. In other words, self-appraisal itself provides operational definitions of the two variables in question (see Questionnaire, p. 157.)

Age is another important variable in the study of attitudes. Samuel Stouffer in his study of tolerance noted that at all levels of education, those who were younger were more tolerant of nonconformists than older persons.¹ Age brings with it a certain physical and psychological inflexibility which makes it more difficult for aged people to accept ways of acting and thinking which are out of the ordinary.

Although the existing literature does not give much support to the view that academic courses can change the attitudes of students,² courses in Christian social doctrine and/or social sciences were tested for their effect on the socio-religious

¹Samuel A. Stouffer, Communism, conformity, and civil liberties (New York, 1955.)

²See Jacob, op. cit., pp. 58-77.

attitudes of Jesuit scholastics. The social sciences in question are economics, political science, sociology, social or cultural anthropology, and other general integrated social science courses. Besides, formal academic training, private reading can also change attitudes especially by supplying new knowledge. So the reading of books on social questions, Church documents on social principles, newspapers and periodicals are expected to be related to socio-religious attitudes.

After considering variables of social class and socialization we come to certain personality traits which are predicted to have an effect on attitudes. Out of various possible determinants the writer selected two, namely, childhood racial attitudes and authoritarianism. Prejudice is an attitude that considers selected categories of people in terms of stereotypes. The term is generally used to refer to a negative attitude toward a racial, religious, or nationality group. A person who is prejudiced against one minority group is likely also to be prejudiced against other minorities, because, prejudice serves some purpose, conscious or unconscious, believed to be of advantage to the person who has prejudice. As Gordon Allport states

People who dislike both Negroes and the federal administration sometimes condense their hostilities into the phrase "nigger-loving bureaucrats." The familiar expression, "Jewish international banker," reflects two fused negative attitudes - in defiance of the simple truth that few Jews are international bankers and few such bankers are Jews. In Latin America, where Catholicism is the dominant religion, one hears of a "Jewish-Protestant alliance" that threatens the world. But in lands where both anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism are common, the result is condemnation in a single breath for the "Vatican and the Jews." The fact that scapegoats of different

breeds are so often harnessed together shows that it is the totality of prejudice that is important rather than specific accusations against single persons.¹

Childhood prejudice was taken as an independent variable to find out whether Jesuit training could help to wash it out or whether it remained permanently in the individual. But no attempt was made to objectively measure prejudice. Here again self-appraisal with the help of indices, provided the operational definition (see Questionnaire, p. 160.)

Closely related to prejudice is authoritarianism. It is a dimension of personality which includes such negative characteristics as prejudice, intolerance, tendency to think in stereotypes, and even paranoia. It also includes positive traits such as firmness of conviction, toughness, and belief in a cause. The researchers² who isolated this syndrome found that it had a general pattern of underlying characteristics:

1. Conventionalism: Rigid adherence to conventional, middle-class values.
2. Authoritarian submission: Submissive, uncritical attitude toward idealized moral authorities of the ingroup.
3. Authoritarian aggression: Tendency to be on the lookout for, and to condemn, reject, and punish, people who violate conventional values.
4. Anti-intraception: Opposition to the subjective, the

¹Gordon W. Allport, The nature of prejudice (abridged; Garden City, 1958), p. 68.

²T. W. Adorno et al., The authoritarian personality

imaginative, the tender-minded.

5. Superstition and stereotypy: The belief in mystical determinants of the individual's fate; the disposition to think in rigid categories.

6. Power and "toughness": Preoccupation with the dominance-submission, strong-weak, leader-follower dimension; identification with power figures; overemphasis upon the conventionalized attributes of the ego; exaggerated assertion of strength and toughness.

7. Destructiveness and cynicism: Generalized hostility, vilification of the human.

8. Projectivity: The disposition to believe that wild and dangerous things go on in the world; the projection outwards of unconscious emotional impulses.

9. Sex: Exaggerated concern with sexual "goings-on."

It is easy to see the connection of these characteristics with socio-religious attitudes, but the direction of their relationship is not obvious at first sight. Rigid adherence to a tradition-bound religion can increase a person's authoritarianism. But it is the writer's contention that a Vatican II-oriented Catholicism is opposed to conventionalism, authoritarian submission and aggression, and the other authoritarian clusters. Commenting on just one document of the Second Vatican Council, Donald Campion says,

One quickly observes a tendency to accentuate the positive in ("Studies in Prejudice"; New York, 1950.)

a realistic appraisal of trends and movements at work today in the City of Man. Time and again, even the most casual reader must be struck by the document's evident openness to fundamental elements in the intellectual climate of 20th-century civilization, to the dimensions of human culture opened up by the advances in the historical, social, and psychological sciences.¹

In other words, the spirit of the "new Church" is "transcendental humanism" which eschews all bigotry, intolerance, and ethnocentrism.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in the test hypotheses is the socio-religious attitudes of the respondents, defined as cognitive, affective, and behavioral dispositions or states of mind towards current social issues. They are called socio-religious because of the connection of social issues with moral and religious principles. Thus in the thesis, Christian social principles are taken as the norm to which the attitudes are expected to be conformed under the influence of the independent and co-dependent variables.

Our next task is to enumerate the social issues which will be proposed to the respondents for evaluation and to expose the Christian social principles and the findings of the social sciences to which the attitudes of the respondents are expected to be conformed.

¹Donald R. Campion, S.J., "The Church today," in Walter M. Abbott, S.J. (ed.), The documents of Vatican II, trans. Joseph Gallagher (New York, 1966), p. 185.

Domestic problems in the United States

There can be no doubt that race relations and all that they entail are the greatest domestic problem in the United States today. The Kerner Report on riots draws one basic conclusion: "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white - separate and unequal."¹ That this problem is primarily moral is brought out by the Pastoral constitution on the Church in the modern world when it says,

With respect to the fundamental rights of the person, every type of discrimination, whether social or cultural, whether based on sex, race, color, social condition, language, or religion, is to be overcome and eradicated as contrary to God's intent. For in truth it must still be regretted that fundamental personal rights are not yet being universally honored.²

Thus, equality is a fundamental personal right which cannot be taken away from a person because of disadvantages he suffers due to his cultural deprivation. Crime, illegitimacy, poverty, and ignorance may be rampant among Negroes. But civil rights which are based on fundamental personal rights cannot be denied to anyone, because a person possesses them as an inalienable right by birth into human society.

Thus, even other important rights like the right to private property must give way before a fundamental inalienable right. Most Catholics do not realize that private property has its limits which are set by social responsibility. Though a

¹U.S., Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York, 1968), p. 1.

²Abbott, op. cit., pp. 227-28.

person has the right to buy, own, and sell or to refuse to sell his property at his own wish, to refuse to sell to another person merely because of the color of his skin is doing a serious injustice to him. Especially when Negroes, who want to move out of the intolerable over-crowding of the inner-city ghettos and all the social evils which that brings on, cannot find housing in the more decent areas of a city because of their race, the people who refuse to sell to them are failing to recognize their social responsibility. This is true also of private clubs which refuse membership to a person merely because of his race. It is an act of contempt towards that person, and nobody can be said to possess a right to do that.

The social dimension of private property is explained by Pius XI in Quadragesimo anno:

It follows from what we have termed the individual and at the same time social character of ownership, that we must consider in this matter not only their own advantage but also the common good. To define these duties in detail when necessity requires . . . is the function of those in charge of the state. . . . Leo XIII wisely taught "that God has left the limits of private possessions to be fixed by the industry of men and institutions of peoples."¹

Paul VI puts it even more directly when he says, "Private property does not constitute for anyone an unconditioned right."²

There is a widespread belief that when Negroes enter a neighborhood, all other property values drop inevitably. Actually

¹Quoted in John F. Cronin, S.S., Social principles and economic life (rev. ed., Milwaukee, 1964), p. 245.

²On the development of peoples (Washington, 1967), p. 18.

this is a situation which is created by panic-sellers who are goaded on by panic-peddling real estate owners. In fact, the monetary value of the property goes up, since homes are sold to Negroes at a much higher rate than they were bought from the whites. In 1959, Lawndale, a sub-area on the West side of the city of Chicago, was a racially changing community. As such, it was a prime target for several real estate speculators and investors to strike it rich by the exploitative use of the contract in the sale of homes to Negroes. In effect Negroes who wanted to buy homes in Lawndale had to pay as much as \$20,000 more to buy their homes than they would have paid if the peddlers had not inflated the market.¹

It is such injustice born of white racism and sheer greed for economic gain that have caused the mood of frustration and violence on the part of the victims of oppression. No amount of repressive legislation can restore order in American society as long as white society discriminates against the Negro, and the Negro in desperation strikes back sporadically and randomly at the establishment which has confined him in the hopeless prison of his ghetto.

The jobless rate of Negroes is four times that of whites.

¹Lawndale Community Organization, "Contract buying and its consequences" (unpublished mimeographed notes, [1968]), p. 1. On the whole question of racial justice, especially the so-called right to refuse to sell homes to Negroes and the so-called right to refuse membership in private clubs to qualified Negroes, see Cronin, "Racial discrimination and racial justice," op. cit., pp. 313-36.

Nearly one-third of job-age nonwhite youth are unemployed in the twenty largest metropolitan areas. According to recent Bureau of Labor Statistics 32.7 per cent of non-whites aged sixteen to nineteen were without work, compared with an 11 per cent jobless rate for white teenagers in the twenty metropolitan areas. The color bar pursues even the Vietnam War veterans who after having risked life and limb in the service of their country, come back back to find unemployment and frustration staring them in the face.

Though the most serious injustice is done to the Negroes in the area of jobs and housing, there is also discrimination in education. While full school integration has not yet taken place in the South, there is increasing segregation in the Northern cities because of the myth of neighborhood schools. Every American citizen has the right to go to a suitable educational institution. But some are effectively kept away from this right by racially demarcated school districts. The Kerner Report states, "Racial isolation in the urban public schools is the result principally of residential segregation and widespread employment of the 'neighborhood school' policy, which transfers segregation from housing to education."¹ It recommends,

We support integration as the priority education strategy because it is essential to the future of American society. We have seen in the last summer's disorders the consequences of racial isolation, at all levels, and of attitudes toward race, on both sides, produced by three centuries of myth, ignorance and bias. It is indispensable that opportunities for interaction between the races be expanded.²

¹U.S., op. cit., p. 426. ²Ibid., p. 438.

Discrimination and economic exploitation are the result of white racism, as the Kerner Report brings out. Negroes are still considered to be meant for manual labor and unskilled jobs and not for more skilled and responsible work. The few interracial marriages that take place each year meet with opposition and hostility from both whites and Negroes. The fundamental equality of everybody and the right of each human being to seek a suitable marriage partner of his or her choice must be considered to be a basic God-given right which must be respected by everybody. So also a person's right to migrate anywhere in the country where he hopes to be able to find a better life, for, as Pope John XXIII put it, "Every human being has the right to freedom of movement and of residence within the confines of his own country; and, when there are just reasons for it, the right to emigrate to other countries and take up residence there."¹

The record of the Roman Catholic Church on the race question shows nothing to be proud of. At the time of the Civil War, the majority of Catholic theological opinion justified slave ownership. Following Emancipation, an accommodation was made to racism by the development of segregated parishes and schools. As a religious body the Society of Jesus has followed the rest of the Church and indeed the rest of American society. Jesuit General Pedro Arrupe points out,

It is chastening to recall that, before the Civil War, some American Jesuit houses owned Negro slaves. It is humbling to

¹*Pacem in terris* (Glen Rock, N.J., 1963), p. 12.

remember that, until recently, a number of Jesuit institutions did not admit qualified Negroes, even in areas where civil restrictions against integrated schools did not prevail, and this even in the case of Catholic Negroes. It is embarrassing to note that, up to the present, some of our institutions have effected what seems to be little more than token integration of the Negro. It is salutary for us to reflect upon these facts.¹

Father Arrupe has given practical directives to Jesuits to implement his suggestions.

All our younger brethren should be thoroughly trained, from the novitiate onward, in the principles of social justice and charity. Accordingly, with proper regard for the demands of their academic formation, priests, scholastics and brothers should be given the opportunity to gain personal experience in confronting the practical problems of the inner city and of racial discrimination.²

Further on in the letter Arrupe recommends that

there be a report on the practicability of establishing with ecclesiastical approval a separate Jesuit residence in a poor Negro section of one or more of the major cities in each province. Those who would live in such a house would be prepared to lead lives of poverty accommodated to their neighborhood, in order to make the humble and poor Christ present among those whom they serve and among whom they live.³

Thus, Jesuits are called upon to involve themselves in the social problems of modern society.

The second most important problem and very closely connected with the first, at least in America, is the problem of poverty. Though most people are aware of its existence in the United States, its true causes are not recognized. Slums are supposed to be the creation of vandalism and neglect. Poverty is

10. ¹A letter on the interracial apostolate (Rome, 1967), p.

²Ibid., pp. 14-15. ³Ibid., p. 18.

believed to have been caused by laziness and extravagance, so that welfare programs are unpopular because they are considered to be a reward for the indolent masses. The Kerner Report says that the problem of segregation and poverty, which in America are closely connected,

require new attitudes, new understanding, and above all, new will. . . .

What white Americans have never fully understood - but what the Negro can never forget - is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.¹

By the same token the wealthy are the main cause of poverty. Free enterprise and the profit system benefit the few at the top and spread wealth around among the middle classes, but they completely bypass the poor. While subsidies are demanded for business and farming, personal unaided effort is recommended for the poor. As the late Martin Luther King Jr. put it, America wants socialism for the wealthy and free enterprise for the poor. Slums are caused by forced over-crowding, rapacity and neglect on the part of real estate owners, as well as by the cultural deprivation of the poor.

These are the people who are immune to progress, Michael Harrington says. . . . The other Americans are the victims of the very inventions and machines that have provided a higher living standard for the rest of society. They are upside-down in the economy, and for them greater productivity often means worse jobs; agricultural advance becomes hunger.²

¹U.S., op. cit., p. 2.

²Michael Harrington, The other America (New York, 1963), p. 19.

John Baptist Janssens distressingly tried to describe

what it means to spend a whole life in humble circumstances, to be a member of the lowest class of mankind, to be ignored and looked down upon by other men; to be unable to appear in public because one does not have decent clothes or the proper social training; to be the means by which others grow rich; to live from day to day on nothing but the most frugal food, and never to be certain about the morrow; to be forced to work either below or above one's strength, amid every danger to health, honor and purity of soul; to be unemployed for days and months, tormented by idleness and want; to be unable to bring up one's children in a decent manner, but rather to be forced to expose them to the common dangers of the public streets, to disease and suffering; to mourn many of them who, lacking the tender care which they need, have been snatched off by death in the bloom of their youth; never to enjoy any decent recreation of soul or body; and at the same time to behold about one the very men for whom one works, abounding in riches, enjoying superfluous comforts, devoting themselves to liberal studies and the fine arts, loaded with honors, authority and praise.¹

Thirdly, the writer selected two labor problems, namely, the right of non-factory personnel to unionize, and the rights of migrant labor. Unionization on the part of white-collar workers like teachers, of government employees like garbage collectors, and of public service occupations like that of nurses is new on the labor scene. There is much discussion on the right of such labor to unionize, to negotiate contracts with management, and strike work if necessary. But, inasmuch as in mass society an individual's demands will not be listened to unless he bands together with others who have similar needs, non-factory personnel also have the right to form pressure groups in order obtain their just demands. In a pastoral letter the hierarchy of Quebec wrote

¹John Baptist Janssens, S.J., Instruction on the social apostolate (Rome, 1949.)

in 1950,

Every man has an obligation to seek to protect the security of his professional interests. He has the duty to seek to obtain for himself and his family all that is necessary in order to live a truly human life and to safeguard them against future hazards. He has the duty to contribute to the welfare of his fellows, especially those united to him in common interests. He has the duty to collaborate in restoring a social order which would be more balanced in favoring respect for justice in all the activities of labor, industry, and commerce. The isolated worker cannot do this. But union with his fellow workers will permit him to fulfill this imperious social duty. In the present state of things, accordingly, there exists a moral obligation to participate actively in one's economic organization.¹

The plight of migratory workers is little known because of the geographic area in which these people work. Great injustices are perpetrated in their hiring practices. Mexican labor used to be imported till 1964, even when there was unemployment among American migrant workers because they were willing to work for less. It is estimated that there are about 2,000,000 migrants counting families traveling with male workers. Average annual cash earnings, in 1962, were estimated at less than \$1,105 for male workers and at \$295 for women workers.

Developing nations

The Santa Clara Conference on the Total Development of the Jesuit Priest says: "Any development of a Jesuit priest which does not find him at the end internationally minded is deficient. cient."² Some of their recommendations are

¹Quoted in Cronin, op. cit., p. 167.

²Proceedings of the Conference on the Total Development of the Jesuit Priest, Vol. III, Pt. II Consensus Positions and

that novices be trained to be international; that in theology an opportunity be offered for learning about world religions; that the study of Cultural Anthropology be encouraged; that all be given the opportunity to speak a modern foreign language.

But there should also be regular procedures by which Jesuit scholastics get an opportunity to be in the non-Christian and/or developing world at least once in the course of their studies.¹

In this recommendation the Santa Clara Conference reflects the decree of the Thirty-First General Congregation which states,

"Every Jesuit . . . and not only those who so petition, may be sent to the missions by reason of his vocation to the Society."²

Two of the most serious problems of the developing nations are overpopulation and consequent poverty. The Church has been slow in admitting the existence of a population problem because of its hesitance to recommend what might be the only practical solution for it, birth control. However, under the pressure of sheer economic facts Pope Paul VI had to admit that "it is true that too frequently an accelerated demographic increase adds its own difficulties to the problems of development; the size of the population increases more rapidly than available resources, and things are found to have reached an apparent impasse."³ Whatever progress is made by economic development is wiped out by population increase in some countries. In India, the per capita in-

recommendations (Santa Clara, 1967), p. C45.

¹Ibid., pp. C46-47.

²Documents of the Thirty-First General Congregation, p.

³Op. cit., p. 26.

come and food production has actually decreased since the Second World War, at a time when the Western world has experienced unprecedented affluence.

Two-thirds of the world is hungry while the remaining one-third abounds in food. There is a widespread belief in America that too much economic aid is given to the developing nations. The facts speak for themselves. Since 1961, aid given by Western governments has remained at a constant of \$6 billion a year. Yet GNP's are up 30 per cent for the West as a whole. This aid has declined from 0.87 per cent of the GNP in 1961 to 0.72 per cent in 1965 to 0.62 per cent in 1966 to 0.55 per cent in 1967. When it comes to arms aid the major powers vie with one another in generosity. Since 1950, the United States sold \$37 billion worth of surplus arms. Bechir Ben Yahmed, the editor and owner of Jeune Afrique wrote bitterly, "It is as if the big powers have concluded that war among themselves is no longer possible, and that the future belongs to local wars whose theater of operations can only be the Third World, and have therefore embarked on a race to arm the poor countries."¹

The irony of it is that the United States considers that the main problem of the poor countries is the danger of Communism. So it is willing to spend \$30 billion a year to fight it, while

¹Newsweek, October 30, 1967, p. 39. See also Philip M. Klutznick, "A new isolationism?" America, March 2, 1968, pp. 287-89, in which Klutznick opines that a failure to provide foreign aid would prove disastrous to the modern concept of the interdependence of nations and the ethical ideal of the responsibility of the rich to the poor.

the United States Congress balks at giving even \$1 billion a year in economic aid. The duty to help the poor nations is stated by Pope Paul in his encyclical, The progress of the peoples: "We must repeat once more that the superfluous wealth of rich countries should be placed at the service of poor nations. The rule which up to now held good for the benefit of those nearest to us, must today be applied to all the needy of this world."¹

Social apostolate

In the face of all these grave domestic and international problems Jesuits cannot afford to remain aloof under the pretext that their training suits them only for the intellectual apostolate. The Thirty-First General Congregation says,

The social apostolate is fully in harmony with the apostolic end of the Society of Jesus, according, namely, to that distinctly Ignatian criterion by which we should always keep before our eyes the more universal and more enduring good. For social structures, above all today, exert an influence on the life of man, even on his moral and religious life. The "humanization" of social life is, moreover, particularly effective as a way of bearing evangelical witness in our times.²

The tendency to regard individual effort to better oneself as sufficient to improve the world, and the desire to shy away from any public or political involvement is born of rugged individualism and isolationism which are alien to the apostolic spirit of the Society of Jesus. The rights of oppressed people cannot be

¹p. 36.

²Documents of the Thirty-First General Congregation, p. 101.

obtained in today's world without political action in its manifold forms.¹ Clerics will therefore have to leave their sacristy and go into the political arena if necessary on behalf of oppressed people throughout the world. Pope Paul's appeal to the world in Bombay and at the United Nations and his efforts for world peace are an example of the Church's involvement in political affairs.

The Question of Values

Sociology, as a science, is expected to be value-free, that is, to study society as it is, not as it should be. The present writer's role as a clergyman and also a member of the very organization which he intends to study, makes a value-free investigation difficult. Nevertheless, he has attempted to find out to what extent the younger members of the Society of Jesus have internalized Christian social principles so that they influence them in their spontaneous stances on current social issues. Some issues and some principles have been singled out and explained in this chapter. In their selection the writer's personal opinions, attitudes, beliefs, and commitments have admittedly exerted an influence. However, he believes that this study can still be said to study how things are, since what is being studied is not the issues themselves but what the attitudes of a group of people are towards certain issues. From that point of view, the writer lays

¹See Harvey Cox, "To speak in a secular fashion of God," The secular city (New York, 1965), pp. 241-69, in which he advocates political action on the part of the church as being today's way of speaking about God.

claim to objectivity and scientific honesty.

Summary

This chapter is an attempt to explicitate the variables that are being studied in the thesis. Socio-religious attitudes, which are the dependent variable, are defined as a person's cognitive, affective, and behavioral stances toward current social issues, judged from the point of view of Christian social principles and the findings of the social sciences. The main independent variable is Jesuit training which is a graded spiritual, emotional, and academic education to prepare the candidate for the Jesuit priestly apostolate. Besides training, twelve variables of social class and socialization are found to have relevance to the attitude formation of Jesuit scholastics. The social issues selected for evaluation by the respondents are current domestic social problems of the United States and the main international problems.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Operational design

Since the purpose of the inquiry is to measure the effect of Jesuit training on the socio-religious attitudes of Jesuit scholastics, the ideal design would be to select a suitable group of young men and measure their socio-religious attitudes before and after subjecting them to each stage of the training. A study of this nature would be obviously spread over a period of ten or twelve years. Since this was not possible, the writer selected six groups of Jesuit scholastics: (1) first year Novices, who have just been admitted as candidates to the Society of Jesus, (2) first year Juniors, who have completed their novitiate, (3) first year Philosophers, (4) first year Regents, (5) first year Theologians, and (6) third year Theologians. A group of twenty lay Catholic college students are taken as a control group. If the main hypothesis is true, the attitude score of each group should be higher than the preceding one, and the score of the Novices should be close to that of the college students. Fourth year Theologians, Tertians, and formed priests were left out of the design, because the writer wished to limit the study to non-priests.

Subjects

The subjects for investigation were scholastics from the Chicago and Detroit provinces. The college students are from a dormitory attached to Loyola University called Gonzaga Hall. In social background, intellectual attainments, and the cultural graces, the men of Gonzaga Hall roughly correspond with young men who offer themselves as candidates to the Society of Jesus. The Novices and Juniors are from Milford Novitiate, Milford, Ohio and Colombière College, Clarkston, Michigan. The Philosophers and Theologians in the thesis sample are studying their respective disciplines at Bellarmine School of Theology, North Aurora, Illinois. The Regents are teaching in the various high schools of the Chicago and Detroit provinces.

All the scholastics in each class were selected for study. So we can say that the sampling was judgmental or purposive. This is a representative sample consisting of a subgroup which is judged by the researcher to be typical of the population as a whole. Observations are restricted to this subgroup, but conclusions from the data are generalized to the total population. In the present thesis the investigation was carried on in six selected groups of scholastics. The purpose of the inclusion of each group was that their position in the graded course made them fit for observation on the effects of each grade of the course.

In such sampling, which is really a complete census of every sample group, there can be no errors or biases in selection. Since all the members of the population are included, tests of

significance are not necessary. Furthermore, because conclusions are being drawn only about the scholastics of the Detroit and Chicago provinces, any result is significant. However, arbitrarily 10 percentage points of difference are taken to be statistically significant. A similar criterion was used by Hubert Jans Horan and Paula McNicholas Condon in their Master's theses.¹ But more importantly than mere quantitative difference, the consistent direction of difference will be sought for as another significant indicator.

Data collection techniques

The following preliminary studies were made for the purpose of fashioning an instrument for data collection. The writer conducted an exploratory study at the Jesuit Novitiate, Wernersville, Pennsylvania, in March, 1967. He interviewed eighteen Novices, and on the basis of the information obtained composed an exploratory questionnaire which was filled out by thirty Novices.

For the second phase of the study he used the questionnaires of Gerhard Lenski,² Sister Anthony Claret Sparks,³ and

¹Hubert Jans Horan, "High school leadership: a study of differential characteristics of emergent leaders and non-leaders in a small private Roman Catholic girls high school in a large Midwestern city" (unpublished Master's thesis, Loyola University of Chicago, 1965); Condon, "Attitudinal variations of Catholic high school senior girls especially towards social responsibility related to social class and ethnic background" (unpublished Master's thesis, Loyola University of Chicago, 1967.)

²Lenski, op. cit., pp. 377-95.

³Sparks, op. cit., pp. 152-65.

Sister Augusta Neal.¹ This questionnaire was administered to thirty subjects residing at Loyola University and Bellarmine School of Theology in September, 1967. At the same time ten interviews were conducted to obtain feedback on the questionnaire.

With the experience obtained from this pilot study, the final version of the questionnaire was composed (see Appendix.) The first part of the questionnaire is to identify the independent variables, namely, demographic facts, social class, religious and academic background. The second part is a verbatim reproduction of Adorno's Authoritarian Personality (F) Scale, Forms 45 and 40. The third part consists of thirty statements taking cognitive, affective, and behavioral stances on current social issues. The respondent is asked to place himself on a five-point Likert-type scale, and is scored accordingly. The fourth and final part investigates the actual participation of the respondent in past, present, and future social action.

The final form of the questionnaire was mailed to three colleges, Milford Novitiate, Colombière College, and Bellarmine School of Theology in December, 1967. A person was appointed in each house to distribute the questionnaires and to collect them when they were completed. Since Regents are scattered in different high schools, the questionnaires were mailed to them individually.

¹Marie Augusta Neal, S.N.D., Values and interests in social change ("Foundations of Modern Sociology Series"; Englewood Cliffe, N.J., 1965.)

Analysis of results

The data were coded on 8x5 cards, tabulated, and computed by hand. The first part of the statistical analysis consists of marginals on the social background and socialization of the candidates. These tables are divided into six columns for each of the six groups in the sample.

The inferential statistics consist mainly of breakdowns and percentages. Where the number of respondents is too small, cells are collapsed in some meaningful pattern. The first series of tables make an item analysis of the socio-religious attitude scale (SRAS.) The attitudes of the respondents on each issue are collected according to their grade of training to find out whether significant differences can be detected.

The next series of tables correlate the total score obtained by the respondents on the SRAS to each of the twelve independent variables. The range of the respondents' scores is divided into three equal intervals and considered as low, medium, and high scores. "Epsilon" which consists of the difference in the percentages in the top row and the bottom row is calculated for each table. Epsilon gives the direction of variance. If any consistency was observed in the direction, the "gamma coefficient" was calculated, when the independent variable in question was ordinal. The gamma coefficient is a measure of the strength of the relation between the independent and dependent variables.¹

¹For an explanation of epsilon and gamma, see Matilda White Riley, *Sociological research* (New York, 1963), II, 140-43.

Then SRAS scores were correlated with the F Scale scores for each sample group by the method of Spearman's Rank Correlation (r_s .) Whenever necessary the scholastics' attitudes were compared with those of the college students. Finally, the participation of the respondents in social action was collected for each group.

The question of causality

This is a very difficult problem in sociology. Gerhard Lenski says,

Causal relationships are difficult to prove rigorously in the social sciences. In most cases our data only permit us to say that there is a certain degree of association between two or more phenomena; an increase in A is associated with a decrease in B.¹

This can be sociologically useful as a predictor. For example, if we observe that authoritarianism is negatively correlated with openness to social change, we can predict with a given degree of confidence that a person who is high on authoritarianism would be less likely to initiate or to participate in action for planned social change. In the present thesis the hypotheses will be considered to have been sustained if a consistent pattern of relationship is observed between two variables.

Generalization

Although, strictly speaking, generalizations can be made only to the population from which the sample groups were drawn, namely, Jesuit scholastics of the Chicago and Detroit provinces,

¹Op. cit., pp. 26-27.

the writer will draw conclusions which would be applicable to all American Jesuit scholastics, since the requirements for admission and training are uniform in all the provinces of the Society of Jesus in the United States. The thesis sample is also considered to be adequately representative of all American Jesuit scholastics.

Summary

According to the sociological research design proposed by Matilda Riley¹ the present thesis can be encapsulated thus. The nature of the research case is a socio-religious subgroup. Many representative cases are selected from a single society at a single period of time. But the study is equivalent to a dynamic one since the focus is on a process which is spread out over a long period of time. The researcher has exercised no control over the subjects or their situation. The data were newly obtained by the researcher for the express purpose at hand by the method of self-administered questionnaires. Several properties were used in the research and handled by the method of measurement. The properties were handled collectively, namely, by gathering similar properties of a number of individuals. The relationship among variables was tested by systematic analysis.

¹Op. cit., I, 18.

CHAPTER IV

PROFILE OF THE JESUIT SCHOLASTIC

The questionnaire was sent to a stratified sample consisting of 130 Jesuit scholastics of the Detroit and Chicago provinces. They comprise six groups: first year Novices, who have just entered the order; first year Juniors, who have completed the two-year noviceship and have begun their two-year course in the classics and humanities; first year Philosophers, who have just initiated a two-year program in ancient, medieval, and modern philosophy; first year Regents, who are beginning one to three years of teaching or graduate studies; first year Theologians, who are initiating a four-year program in theology; and third year Theologians, who are on the verge of being ordained priests.

In order to keep the groups controlled, only those scholastics who belong to the Mid-Western provinces--Chicago, Detroit, and Wisconsin--now residing within the geographic area of the Chicago and Detroit provinces were included in the universe. The whole population within each group was covered by the questionnaires. The return on the total population was 102 out of 130 or 79 per cent. This is not as large as was expected. Previous studies of Jesuit scholastics have yielded a return as large as 90

per cent.¹ The comparatively low return on the present questionnaire is probably attributable to the fact that it was mailed during the Christmas holidays when many of the respondents were away from home and the rest were not in a mood to fill out long questionnaires, and also that a large number of sociological surveys are being conducted among Jesuits these days. The present questionnaire might well have been the last straw which broke the camel's back.

TABLE 1.--Number and percentage of returns

Sample groups	Population	Returns	Percentage
1N ^a	29	22	76
1J	17	14	82
1P	25	20	80
1R	23	16	70
1T	23	20	87
3T	13	10	77
Total	130	102	79

^a1N = first year Novices; 1J = first year Juniors; 1P = first year Philosophers; 1R = first year Regents; 1T = first year Theologians; 3T = third year Theologians. These symbols will be used in the tables throughout the thesis. The Loyola students will be referred to by the symbol 1S.

Table 1 shows that the highest return is from the first

¹John Joseph O'Connell, S.J., "A study of selected sociological factors in personal adjustment of members to a religious order in terms of integration and alienation" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Loyola University, 1967); Jerome Francis Bowman, S.J., "A study of selected social and economic factors in the formation of a religious vocation" (unpublished Master's thesis, Loyola University of Chicago, 1958.)

year Theologians and the second highest from the first year Juniors. These two groups are observed frequently in the thesis to be standing slightly above the other groups in social attitudes. The lowest return is from the first year Regents. This was expected because of similar results in John O'Connell's and Jerome Bowman's studies. The modal group in the whole sample is that of the Novices who make up 21 per cent of the total returns. Since the returns on each group are not uniform, raw figures cannot be used in comparison but only percentages. The conclusions drawn will apply to the whole universe of Jesuit scholastics of the Chicago and Detroit provinces since 79 per cent of all those who are at the beginning of each step of the formation are included in the sample. The sample is therefore considered as representative of the whole universe. However, since we do not have a random sample, but entire age classes, tests of significance will be unnecessary. The latter are needed only when conclusions have to be drawn about the whole population on the basis of probability sampling. In the present case, any result will be significant since it will tell us something about the whole population.

The six groups are on an ascending scale of ages. The modal age group of the Novices is 19 or under, that of the Juniors and Philosophers 20 to 24, that of the Regents and first year Theologians 25 to 29, and that of the third year Theologians is 30 to 34. The modal age group in the whole sample is 20 to 24. Since the age groups correspond with the grades, what is attributable to training may only be the result of maturity. Later on,

TABLE 2.--Distribution of the six sample groups according to age

Age in years	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	Overall%
19 or under	77%(17)	21% (3)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	19%(20)
20 to 24	18 (4)	79 (11)	95 (19)	31 (5)	0 (0)	0 (0)	37 (39)
25 to 29	5 (1)	0 (0)	5 (1)	56 (9)	75 (15)	10 (1)	26 (27)
30 to 34	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	7 (1)	25 (5)	90 (9)	14 (15)
Not indicated	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (1)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

TABLE 3.--Ethnic origins: father's ethnic group

Irish	55 (12)	50 (7)	30 (6)	44 (7)	50 (10)	20 (2)	43 (44)
Northern Europn. ^a	28 (6)	36 (5)	25 (5)	31 (5)	30 (6)	30 (3)	29 (30)
Eastern European ^b	5 (1)	14 (2)	25 (5)	13 (2)	5 (1)	40 (4)	15 (15)
English ^c	7 (2)	0 (0)	10 (2)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	5 (5)
Southern Europn. ^d	5 (1)	0 (0)	5 (1)	6 (1)	5 (1)	0 (0)	4 (4)
French ^e	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (1)	0 (0)	10 (1)	2 (2)
Not indicated	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	2 (2)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

^aGerman, Austrian, Swiss, Scandinavian.^bPolish, Czech, Bohemian, Slovak, Russian, Hungarian.^cEnglish, Scotch, Welsh. ^dItalian. ^eFrench, Belgian.

an attempt will be made to apply controls for age.

Social Background

All the respondents are members either of the Chicago or Detroit provinces of the Society of Jesus, citizens of the United States, Caucasians by race, except for one who is one quarter Choctaw Indian.

Ethnic origin

The ethnic ancestry of the respondents corresponds with that of other religious personnel and indeed of American Catholics as a whole. In the results of all sociological surveys of Catholics in the United States, the Irish are at the top of the list. Fifty per cent of the present sample have at least one parent of Irish ancestry. And then in descending order we have Germans, Polish, English, Italians, and French. The Irish form the modal nationality in all except one group of the sample, namely, the third year Theologians, whose modal group is Eastern European. This will have to be kept in mind when relating social attitudes to ethnic origin.

However, as many as 39 per cent of the sample come from mixed ethnic origins. This is sociologically significant, for as Joseph Fichter states,

A further indication of assimilation into the American society may be found in the degree to which these persons are of mixed ethnic background. The longer one's ancestors have been in the United States, the more likely is he to be of mixed national stock. When a Catholic with an Irish name marries someone with an Italian name, or one with a German name

TABLE 4.--Ethnic origins: mother's ethnic group

Ethnic group	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	Overall%
Irish	55%(12)	64% (9)	55%(11)	50% (8)	55%(11)	0% (0)	50%(51)
Northern European	5 (1)	14 (2)	15 (3)	19 (3)	25 (5)	40 (4)	17 (18)
Eastern European	13 (3)	14 (2)	10 (2)	13 (2)	5 (1)	30 (3)	13 (13)
English	10 (2)	0 (0)	5 (1)	6 (1)	0 (0)	10 (1)	5 (5)
Southern European	5 (1)	8 (1)	10 (2)	6 (1)	5 (1)	0 (0)	6 (6)
French	12 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (1)	5 (1)	20 (2)	7 (7)
Not indicated	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	2 (2)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

TABLE 5.--Degree of assimilation

Generation Amer.	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	Overall%
First	0% (0)	0% (0)	5% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	1% (1)
Second	14 (3)	9 (1)	5 (1)	7 (1)	20 (4)	20 (2)	12 (12)
Third	50 (11)	64 (9)	40 (8)	37 (6)	15 (3)	50 (5)	41 (42)
Fourth and beyond	36 (8)	29 (4)	50 (10)	56 (9)	65 (13)	30 (2)	46 (47)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

marries someone with a French name, we may assume that their ties to their own ethnic group and its foreign origin have been fairly weakened. This "mingling" of ethnic stock is going on at an increasing rate among American Catholics.¹

Degree of assimilation

This brings us to the question of the Americanization of the thesis sample. Eighty-seven per cent of the respondents are third generation Americans or beyond. If there is any ethnic feeling in such a group it is more of the calm and studied type according to Marcus Hansen's "principle of third-generation interest," namely, "What the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember." The remaining 13 per cent of the respondents are foreign stock, of whom only 1 is foreign-born.

Social classes

The social class of the respondents' families was ascertained by two techniques: (1) Hollingshead's two-factor index of social position, and (2) Center's subjective technique, namely, asking the respondent to classify his family as belonging to the upper, middle, working, or lower class. Throughout the thesis, the objective social classes are referred to by the numerals, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5; the subjective social classes are named upper, upper-middle, middle, working, and lower classes.

According to the first technique it was observed that 18 per cent of the respondents belong to class 1, which is at the top

¹Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., Religion as an occupation (1st paperback ed.; Notre Dame, 1966), pp. 71-72.

TABLE 6.--Social class according to Hollingshead's two-factor index of social position

Social classes	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	Overall%
1	27% (6)	0% (0)	15% (3)	25% (4)	25% (5)	0% (0)	18%(18)
2	27 (6)	14 (2)	35 (7)	31 (5)	15 (3)	10 (1)	24 (24)
3	27 (6)	64 (9)	15 (3)	13 (2)	30 (6)	10 (1)	26 (27)
4	19 (4)	22 (3)	30 (6)	25 (4)	20 (4)	60 (6)	26 (27)
5	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (1)	10 (2)	20 (2)	5 (5)
Not indicated	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

TABLE 7.--Social class according to Richard Centers' self-evaluation check list

Upper	5 (1)	7 (1)	5 (1)	7 (1)	10 (2)	0 (0)	6 (6)
Upper-middle	0 (0)	7 (1)	5 (1)	6 (1)	10 (2)	0 (0)	5 (5)
Middle	81 (19)	57 (8)	80 (16)	56 (9)	45 (9)	40 (4)	64 (65)
Working	14 (2)	29 (4)	10 (2)	25 (4)	35 (7)	60 (6)	24 (25)
Lower	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Not indicated	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

of the social scale. This is a high percentage indeed, reflecting both the shifting social status of American Catholics and the selective process by which candidates are received into the Society of Jesus. This trend can be observed from row 5 of Table 6, where it is seen that the number of respondents from class 5 has declined over the years, so much so that in the groups of the Novices, Juniors, and Philosophers, there is no one who falls in class 5. The same trend is possibly at work in the column of the Novices, where there is a decline in the number of respondents as we go down the class scale. This is an inverse of the class pattern in the other columns, particularly in that of the third year Theologians.

The high percentage of respondents in class 1 corresponds also to John O'Connell's study of scholastics of the Wisconsin province of whom 22 per cent were in that class. Joseph Fichter observed a similar trend in the shift of occupations of fathers of seminarians in his monograph, Religion as an occupation. In 1958, 12 per cent of seminarians were sons of professionals. This was higher than the 1955 proportion of sons of professionals, which was 6 per cent, and 1919-29 proportion, which was 4 per cent.

Classes 2 and 3 of Hollingshead account for altogether 50 per cent of the respondents. This corresponds to the middle class on the subjective scale. However, on the subjective scale, the middle class has 69 per cent of the respondents. This is because a good percentage of those who are objectively in class 1 and some from those who are objectively in class 4 have placed themselves

in the middle class on the subjective scale. This is a reflection both of class aspirations on the part of the lower classes, as well as a certain subjective levelling down of the class system in American culture. On observing a similar tendency on the part of nuns to identify their family social class as middle class, Sister Mary Anthony Claret comments, "The American 'success story' has been defined largely in terms of economic success. If Catholics are becoming more 'Americanized,' and studies indicate they are, it is not surprising that this value would influence the Sisters' self-image."¹ However egalitarian religious life may be, it cannot always succeed in effacing every latent class value.

On the subjective scale not one of the respondents claims to belong to the lower class, because of the pejorative connotations of that class in American life. However, it can be observed that 5 per cent belong to Hollingshead's class 5 which corresponds with the lower class. Roughly we can say that 70 per cent of the respondents consider themselves as belonging to the middle class, 25 per cent to the working class, and 5 per cent to the upper class. This corresponds almost exactly to John O'Connell's findings on the subjective scale whereby 5.5 per cent placed themselves in the upper class, 71.4 per cent in the middle class, 22.3 per cent in the working class, and 0.4 per cent in the lower class. The present writer's and O'Connell's findings are in marked contrast with those of Sister Mary Anthony Claret on

¹Op. cit., p. 44.

Chicago's teaching sisters. The three studies are summarized and compared in Table 8. The conclusion must be drawn that vocations for the Society of Jesus tend to come from the upper social strata rather than the lower. This will certainly reflect on the work and attitudes of Jesuits.

TABLE 8.--Percentage distribution of objective social classes among three samples of religious

Social classes	Jesuit scholastics		Chicago's teaching srs. ^b 1966 N = 579
	Chicago-Detroit 1968 N = 102	Wisconsin ^a 1967 N = 273	
1	18%	22%	5%
2	24	23	5
3	26	30	13
4	26	19	43
5	5	5	27
Not indicated	1	1	7

^aSource: O'Connell, op. cit., p. 75.

^bSource: Sparks, op. cit., p. 44.

Table 9 is an attempt to make a correlation between objective and subjective social classes. Forty-six per cent of the cases fall on the XY transversal, which means that 46 per cent of the respondents make a subjective estimate of their family's social class which corresponds exactly with the objective occupational and educational level of their fathers. Thirty-seven per

cent place themselves below their objective social class, and only 17 per cent above their objective social class. This shows that the present sample of respondents has a general tendency to understate rather than overstate their social class.

TABLE 9.--Correlation of objective and subjective social classes
(N = 100)

Subjective social classes	Objective social classes				
	1	2	3	4	5
X					
Upper	5	..	1	..	..
Upper-middle	..	4	1	..	..
Middle	13	18	20	10	2
Working	..	1	4	17	3
Lower	..	1	..	..	..
					Y

Table 10 gives the various proportions of ethnic groups within each class. The Irish make up the highest percentage of classes 1, 2, and 3; the Eastern Europeans of class 4; the Germans and Italians of class 5. It is also interesting to see that the greatest number of English are in class 2; the greatest number of Irish and Northern Europeans in class 3; the greatest number of Eastern Europeans in class 4; and the greatest number of Southern Europeans in class 5. Though the smallness of the sample forbids any generalization, the results conform to other studies.

TABLE 10.--Percentage of ethnic groups in each social class
(N = 97)

Ethnic groups	Objective social classes				
	1	2	3	4	5
Irish	65%(10)	42%(10)	56%(15)	27% (7)	20% (1)
Northern European	20 (3)	29 (7)	37 (10)	23 (6)	40 (2)
Eastern European	0 (0)	17 (4)	4 (1)	39 (10)	0 (0)
English	0 (0)	12 (3)	3 (1)	4 (1)	0 (0)
Southern European	8 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (1)	40 (2)
French	7 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (1)	0 (0)
Total	100 (15)	100 (24)	100 (27)	100 (26)	100 (5)

Urban-rural background

The present group of Jesuit scholastics is a largely urbanized one. As many as 85 per cent come from large cities and suburbs of large cities. Another 12 per cent are from towns and small cities. That leaves only 3 per cent from rural farm and non-farm areas. This is not surprising since the great majority of American Catholic people are urban dwellers. It is estimated that only 20 per cent of Catholics are rural dwellers. However, 3 per cent on the present sample is certainly an underrepresentation. The Bowdern study of the 1920's¹ found 18 per cent of the seminarians and 30 per cent of the female religious coming from

¹Thomas Bowdern, "A study of vocations" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, St. Louis University, 1936.)

TABLE 11.--Type and size of the community of origin

Community	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	Overall%
Rural farm	0% (0)	0% (0)	5% (1)	0% (0)	5% (1)	0% (0)	2% (2)
Rural non-farm	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1)
Small town	5 (1)	7 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	10 (1)	1 (1)
City	8 (2)	14 (2)	10 (2)	0 (0)	5 (1)	10 (1)	8 (8)
Large city	41 (9)	71 (10)	60 (12)	63 (10)	50 (10)	80 (8)	58 (59)
Suburb	46 (10)	8 (1)	20 (4)	37 (6)	35 (7)	0 (0)	27 (28)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

TABLE 12.--Religious atmosphere in the childhood home

Very sound	55 (12)	57 (8)	70 (14)	56 (9)	55 (11)	40 (4)	57 (58)
Fairly sound	41 (9)	23 (2)	30 (6)	37 (6)	35 (7)	30 (3)	33 (34)
Not very sound	4 (1)	22 (3)	0 (0)	7 (1)	10 (2)	20 (2)	9 (9)
Very poor	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (1)	1 (1)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

rural sections of the country. This percentage went down to 13 for seminarians in the 1950's. But since the Society of Jesus gets most of its vocations from its own high schools which are by and large urban in location, we have only 3 per cent of our sample from rural areas. This is in marked contrast with the majority of Protestant ministers, who have a rural background. Ross Scherer writes,

With respect to size of birthplace, the origins of Synod clergy are probably midway between other Protestant clergy and the Catholic priesthood. May reports that in 1930 the Protestant clergy had spent their childhoods in small hamlets and cities, only 12 per cent being reared in places of 100,000 and above. Felten, who did his study of Protestant seminarians in the late 1940's, shows that the future Protestant clergy were at least beginning to come less from rural areas, as two-thirds were from places of 2,500 and above.¹

Socialization

Besides social background, which conditions a person's value-attitude system by supplying a frame of reference, there is a more direct factor in the formation of his attitudes. Socialization is by definition the process whereby the younger members of a society are trained to accept the norms, values, and behavior of the parent society of which they are to be adult members. There is no doubt that formal and informal means to influence the attitudes of the young, do have a profound influence on their character, an influence which shows its effects also in adult

¹Ross Paul Scherer, "Ministers of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod: origins, training, career-lines, perceptions of work and reference" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1963), p. 110.

life. In accordance with this theory an attempt was made to identify the elements in the process of socialization which influenced the value-attitude system of the respondents.

Religious atmosphere

The respondents were asked to make a subjective evaluation of the religious atmosphere of their childhood home. As many as 57 per cent said that it was "very sound" and 33 per cent "fairly sound," so that 90 per cent of the respondents claimed to have come from a home with "sound" religious atmosphere. Only 10 respondents or 9 per cent of the sample came from "not very sound" or "poor" religious atmosphere. Of these 10, 2 were from class 2, 4 from class 3, and 4 from classes 4 and 5. The number is too small to permit any generalization. But considering the fact that the greater number of respondents tend to come from the upper rather than the lower classes, the lower classes may be said to be over-represented in the category of unsound religious atmosphere. The fact that 90 per cent of the respondents came from highly religious families agrees also with other studies. Jerome Bowman observed that 89 per cent of the fathers of his respondents and 98 per cent of the mothers were practicing Catholics.¹

Political atmosphere

As for the political atmosphere in the childhood home, 51 per cent were Democrat, of whom four-fifths were moderate or lib-

¹Op. cit., p. 34.

eral, and one-fifth conservative. Republicans claim 34 per cent. Of these one-third were conservative. Of the remaining 15 per cent, 13 per cent came from families which were indifferent to political affiliation, and 2 per cent gave no answer. These results are in contrast with Gerhard Lenski's findings on Detroit area Catholics in 1957 and 1958. Nineteen per cent of the white Catholics classified themselves as Republicans, 57 per cent as Democrats, and the remaining 24 per cent as independents or persons without any party preference. The higher representation of the respondents of the writer's thesis on the Republican party (34 per cent) can be attributed to the class 1 and 2 origins of 42 per cent of the respondents.

TABLE 13.--Religious atmosphere in the childhood home, by social class

Social class	Respondents from unsound religious atmosphere
1 (N = 18)	0% (0)
2 (N = 24)	8 (2)
3 (N = 27)	15 (4)
4 (N = 27)	11 (3)
5 (N = 5)	20 (1)

On the conservatism-liberalism continuum, 19 per cent place their families on the conservative side, 8 per cent on the liberal side, and 58 per cent in between as moderates. The

TABLE 14.--Political atmosphere in the childhood home

Polit. atmosphere	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	Overall%
Conserv. Dem.	0% (0)	7% (1)	10% (2)	19% (3)	10% (2)	20% (2)	10%(10)
Conserv. Rep.	18 (4)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (1)	15 (3)	10 (1)	9 (9)
Moderate Dem.	41 (9)	43 (6)	35 (7)	19 (3)	35 (7)	50 (5)	36 (37)
Moderate Rep.	14 (3)	21 (3)	35 (7)	31 (5)	20 (4)	10 (1)	22 (23)
Liberal Dem.	0 (0)	8 (1)	0 (0)	13 (2)	10 (2)	0 (0)	5 (5)
Liberal Rep.	5 (1)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	3 (3)
No polit. affil.	22 (5)	21 (3)	10 (2)	6 (1)	5 (1)	10 (1)	13 (13)
Not indicated	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	6 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

TABLE 15.--Amount of Catholic education before entrance into the Society of Jesus

All	86 (19)	64 (9)	80 (16)	87 (14)	85 (17)	100 (10)	83 (85)
Some	14 (3)	29 (4)	20 (4)	0 (0)	15 (3)	0 (0)	14 (14)
None	0 (0)	9 (1)	0 (0)	13 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (3)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

strength of Republicanism (34 per cent) and conservatism (19 per cent) seems to be an interesting shift which may reflect either the rising economic status of American Catholics or the shifting social origins of religious personnel.

Catholic education

Eighty-three per cent of the sample had an all-Catholic education before entering the Society of Jesus, and 14 per cent had "some" Catholic education. So 97 per cent have had at least some experience in Catholic schools during childhood. Also 17 per cent have had "some" experience in public schools. Almost all studies of Roman Catholic religious personnel show that the overwhelming majority of vocations derive from families where the practice of the faith is of a high degree and the children are given a Catholic education. In Bowman's sample, 95 per cent of the scholastics had had some Catholic education. In the present sample, when those who had only some or no Catholic education were tested for social class, no pattern emerged. Six were from class 2, 4 from class 3, 3 from class 1, and 2 from class 5.

TABLE 16.--Amount of Catholic education before entrance into the Society of Jesus, by social class

Obj. soc. class	Respondents with only some or no Catholic educatn.
1 (N = 18)	17% (3)
2 (N = 24)	25 (6)
3 (N = 27)	18 (5)
4 (N = 27)	0 (0)
5 (N = 5)	40 (2)

Courses in Christian social principles and/or social sciences

It was the original intention of the writer to find out the major field in which each respondent was taking graduate courses. This was found to be an almost impossible task. As candidates for the priesthood, Jesuit scholastics have to undergo three successive stages of education: (1) the liberal arts curriculum, which also includes history and some of the physical sciences; (2) the curriculum in philosophy which has to include also some social science courses; (3) the curriculum in theology, which is prescribed for candidates to the priesthood. In addition to these, each scholastic chooses a special field, practical or academic, directly related to his future work. So it is difficult to select one field which may be said to be a respondent's major, since he does graduate work in several different areas.

Therefore, questions were asked about courses which were expected to have had a direct influence on the socio-religious attitudes of the scholastics, namely, Christian social principles, economics, political science, sociology, social or cultural anthropology, and other general integrated "social science" courses. Sixty-six per cent of the respondents had had no course at all in Christian social doctrine and 52 per cent no course at all in any of the social sciences. Though some courses in social doctrine and science are prescribed in the philosophy and theology curricula, some institutions for the training of Jesuits have got by with little or nothing in this area. The papal social encyclicals have been all but neglected in the course. In spite of this

TABLE 17.--Courses in Christian social doctrine

Number of courses	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	Overall%
0	73%(16)	93%(13)	85%(17)	56% (9)	50%(10)	30% (3)	66%(68)
1	8 (2)	0 (0)	10 (2)	25 (4)	35 (7)	20 (2)	17 (17)
2	5 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	19 (3)	15 (3)	30 (3)	10 (10)
3 or more	14 (3)	7 (1)	5 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	20 (2)	7 (7)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

TABLE 18.--Courses in the social sciences

0	82 (18)	86 (12)	55 (11)	19 (3)	15 (3)	60 (6)	52 (53)
1	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	25 (4)	20 (4)	10 (1)	10 (10)
2	0 (0)	14 (2)	20 (4)	19 (3)	5 (1)	10 (1)	11 (11)
3 or more	18 (4)	0 (0)	20 (4)	37 (6)	60 (12)	20 (2)	27 (28)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

regrettable situation, it can be seen from Table 19 that from the philosophy course on, about 80 per cent of scholastics take some elective courses in social doctrine or science.

Nevertheless, there is serious lack in this area of the formation of future Jesuit priests. That the social sciences are not considered to be an integral part of the course is clear from the fact that 2 out of the 10 scholastics who are on the verge of being ordained priests have had no course at all in social doctrine or science during the thirteen years of training. This large gap in the formation of Jesuits might explain the frequent lack of social concern on the part of Jesuit-run institutions in this country. While some changes are in evidence, much progress has yet to be made. Future planning of seminary training will have to heed the recommendation of the Thirty-First General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, which urged that "in the entire course of Jesuit training, both theoretical and practical, the social dimension of our whole modern apostolate must be taken into account."¹

Reading

Education is a process which goes on formally in planned courses and regular classroom exercises and assignments, and informally in a person's experiences both of an intellectual and social kind. What is lacking in courses can be made up in private

¹Documents of the Thirty-First General Congregation, p. 102.

reading according to one's own interests. Accordingly, the writer made a selection of six basic documents which can be said to outline Christian social doctrine after Vatican II. It includes the two great social encyclicals of Pope John XXIII: Mater et magistra and Pacem in terris; Pope Paul VI's encyclical on social and economic development called The progress of the peoples; the Second Vatican Council's document entitled The Church in the modern world; the Thirty-First General Congregation's document on the social apostolate of Jesuits; and Father General Arrupe's letter to the American Jesuits on The interracial apostolate. The respondents were asked to check those documents which they had read from start to finish.

TABLE 19.--Number and percentage of respondents with no courses in Christian social principles and the social sciences

Sample groups	Respond. with no course in soc. doctrine or sci.
1N (N = 22)	69% (15)
1J (N = 14)	71 (11)
1P (N = 20)	60 (12)
1R (N = 16)	19 (3)
1T (N = 20)	5 (1)
3T (N = 10)	20 (2)
Total (N = 102)	43 (44)

Six per cent had read none of the documents; 56 per cent had read 3 or less; and only 6 per cent had read all 6 documents. The median number of documents read by the whole sample was 3. The most read document was the General Congregation's directive on

TABLE 20.--Documents on Christian social doctrine

Documents	1N N=22	1J N=14	1P N=20	1R N=16	1T N=20	3T N=10	Overall N=102
Mater et magistra	4	5	11	11	17	7	53%(55)
Pacem in terris	6	7	12	10	15	6	54 (56)
Populorum prog.	1	4	7	2	1	2	16 (17)
Church in mod. w.	9	10	13	9	10	9	58 (60)
Social apostolate	9	10	18	12	11	7	64 (67)
Interracial apost.	17	11	12	12	7	5	62 (64)

TABLE 21.--Number of documents on Christian social doctrine read, by grades of training

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Median of docs.
	9% (2)	36 (8)	14 (3)	27 (6)	9 (2)	0 (0)	5 (1)	2
	0% (0)	21 (3)	7 (1)	29 (4)	0 (0)	43 (6)	0 (0)	3
	0% (0)	15 (3)	20 (4)	10 (2)	15 (3)	30 (6)	10 (2)	4
	5% (1)	6 (1)	13 (2)	19 (3)	31 (5)	13 (2)	13 (2)	4
	10% (2)	5 (1)	20 (4)	15 (3)	35 (7)	15 (3)	0 (0)	4
	10% (1)	0 (0)	10 (1)	20 (2)	30 (3)	20 (2)	10 (1)	4
	6% (6)	6 (6)	15 (15)	19 (20)	19 (20)	19 (19)	6 (6)	3

the social apostolate which is only two pages in length. Even this had been read by only 64 per cent of the sample. The least read document was The progress of the peoples, which states in a masterly fashion an approach toward the solution of world poverty. Only 16 per cent had read it. Father Arrupe's letter on The inter-racial apostolate, which was specially addressed to American Jesuits, because of the present racial crisis in the United States, had been read by 62 per cent of the sample.

One's education can be advanced also by non-scholarly reading such as that of newspapers and magazines. Ninety-one per cent of the scholastics in the sample read regularly at least one newspaper or periodical. Eighty-five per cent read at least 1 secular magazine or newspaper, and a smaller percentage (67 per cent) at least 1 Catholic newspaper or magazine.

Another question was asked on reading, namely, whether the respondent had read any books on social questions in the last six months. Sixty-eight per cent had read none; the remaining had read at least 1; 9 per cent had read 4 or more books related to social issues.

Personality Predisposition

Besides social background and socialization, an individual's personality disposition has been observed to have a marked influence on his social attitudes. This basic thesis is stated by Adorno in his monumental work, The authoritarian personality: "The political, economic, and social convictions of an individual

TABLE 22.--Catholic newspapers and periodicals

Number read	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	Overall%
0	41% (9)	21% (3)	35% (7)	37% (6)	35% (7)	20% (2)	33%(34)
1	23 (5)	21 (3)	20 (4)	25 (4)	30 (6)	40 (4)	25 (26)
2	14 (3)	0 (0)	5 (1)	31 (5)	25 (5)	20 (2)	16 (16)
3	9 (2)	43 (6)	20 (4)	7 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	13 (13)
4	4 (1)	15 (2)	10 (2)	0 (0)	10 (2)	0 (0)	7 (7)
5	4 (1)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (1)	3 (3)
6	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1)
7	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (1)	1 (1)
8	5 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

TABLE 23.--Secular newspapers and periodicals

Number read	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	Overall1%
0	41% (9)	8% (1)	5% (1)	7% (1)	5% (1)	20% (2)	15%(15)
1	14 (3)	21 (3)	20 (4)	6 (1)	5 (1)	20 (2)	14 (14)
2	9 (2)	36 (5)	25 (5)	37 (6)	20 (4)	0 (0)	21 (22)
3	9 (2)	14 (2)	5 (1)	19 (3)	30 (6)	0 (0)	14 (14)
4	9 (2)	7 (1)	20 (4)	19 (3)	5 (1)	10 (1)	12 (12)
5	5 (1)	14 (2)	5 (1)	0 (0)	15 (3)	20 (2)	9 (9)
6	9 (2)	0 (0)	5 (1)	6 (1)	15 (3)	20 (2)	9 (9)
7	4 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	2 (2)
8	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (1)	3 (3)
9	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1)
10	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

TABLE 24.--Number and percentage of respondents who read no newspaper or periodical

Sample groups		Respondents not reading newspapers & mags.	
1N (N = 22)	. . . . .	23%	(5)
1J (N = 14)	. . . . .	7	(1)
1P (N = 20)	. . . . .	5	(1)
1R (N = 16)	. . . . .	6	(1)
1T (N = 20)	. . . . .	5	(1)
3T (N = 10)	. . . . .	0	(0)
Total (N =102)	. . . . .	9	(9)

TABLE 25.--Books on social questions read in the last six months

Number of books	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	Overall%
0	86%(19)	64% (9)	65%(13)	63%(10)	65%(13)	60% (6)	68%(70)
1	14 (3)	21 (3)	20 (4)	13 (2)	10 (2)	20 (2)	16 (16)
2	0 (0)	0 (0)	15 (3)	6 (1)	10 (2)	10 (1)	7 (7)
3	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	13 (2)	10 (2)	0 (0)	4 (4)
4	0 (0)	8 (1)	0 (0)	5 (1)	5 (1)	0 (0)	3 (3)
5	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
6	0 (0)	7 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1)
Not indicated	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (1)	1 (1)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

often form a broad and coherent pattern, as if bound together by a 'mentality or 'spirit,' and . . . this pattern is an expression of deeplying trends in his personality."¹ An attempt was made in the present thesis to probe a little into the personality of the respondents to find out whether any underlying personality traits could be detected in the whole group of Jesuit scholastics under study.

Reference groups

Three techniques were used for this purpose. The first was to ask the respondents to evaluate the importance of each one of a whole list of public figures. The question was that if these people were to be invited to conduct a seminar or symposium on modern social problems, what benefit was expected from each figure on the list: very much, some, little, or none. Some on the list were specified as being involved in social problems, some not. Placing a person on the "very much" point was considered a vote in his favor, and a "none" label was considered a rejection of that public figure.

It was observed that the highest number of votes were polled by the inner-city pastor, next in line being the Negro civil rights leader and the lay sociologist. It is interesting to note that the black power leader was ahead of the priest sociologist. The lowest three on the list were the Jesuit university dean and the nun teaching in a parochial school with 6 votes each,

TABLE 26.--Number of respondents who expect "very much benefit" from each of a list of leaders of discussions on modern social problems

Discussion leaders	1N N=22	1J N=14	1P N=20	1R N=16	1T N=20	3T N=10	Total N=102
Inner city pastor	16	7	15	4	11	6	59
Negro civil rights leader . . .	13	11	8	6	11	5	54
Lay sociologist	16	10	11	5	5	4	51
Black power leader	15	8	9	4	9	4	49
Priest sociologist	14	10	10	5	3	2	44
Inner-city school teacher . . .	12	7	11	5	5	3	43
Social worker	12	8	9	1	7	2	39
Negro clergyman	12	7	6	2	5	2	34
Clinical psychologist	10	5	10	3	4	1	33
Police superintendent	10	3	6	4	8	2	33
White mayor of large metropolis	8	4	2	2	9	3	28
Theologian	6	2	3	0	2	2	15
Bishop of metropolitan diocese.	3	4	0	0	2	1	10
Protestant minister	6	2	0	0	1	0	9
Suburban mayor	1	2	0	1	3	2	9
Real estate agent	1	1	1	3	3	0	9
Local politician	2	0	0	2	2	1	7
Rabbi	4	1	1	0	1	0	7
Jesuit university dean	3	2	0	0	1	0	6
Nun teaching in parochial school	1	1	1	0	2	1	6
Suburban pastor	1	0	0	0	1	0	2

TABLE 27.--Number of respondents who expect "no benefit" from each of a list of discussion leaders on modern social problems

Suburban pastor	8	5	8	8	7	4	40
Jesuit university dean	3	5	4	8	9	5	34
Nun teaching in parochial school	9	3	4	6	7	0	29
Suburban mayor	3	4	7	4	6	3	27
Real estate agent	6	6	5	1	3	1	22
Bishop of metropolitan diocese.	1	4	2	3	3	2	15
Theologian	0	2	3	2	1	2	10
Local politician	2	1	2	0	2	0	8
Rabbi	2	0	1	4	0	0	7
White mayor of large metropolis	0	1	2	2	2	0	7
Black power leader	2	0	2	1	1	0	6
Inner-city school teacher . . .	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Protestant minister	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Social worker	0	0	0	1	0	0	1

and the suburban pastor with 2 votes. The suburban pastor headed the rejection list, followed by the Jesuit university dean and the nun teaching in the parochial school. The following persons were not rejected by anybody: inner-city pastor, Negro civil rights leader, lay sociologist, priest sociologist, Negro clergyman, and police superintendent.

Both the acceptance and rejection lists are important to ascertain the interests and reference groups of the respondents. It seems that in the minds of the sample group, lay personalities are of greater significance than clerics, at least so far as modern social problems are concerned. The Negro civil rights leader is ahead of the Negro clergyman; the lay sociologist leads the priest sociologist; even the white mayor of a large metropolis is preferred to the theologian, bishop of the metropolitan diocese, Jesuit university dean, nun teaching in a parochial school, and suburban pastor. Only the inner-city pastor receives a resounding endorsement. The Protestant minister and rabbi are low on the list, holding fourteenth and eighteenth places respectively, apparently not because of their different faith, but because their importance for social issues depends on their own personal involvement. An inner-city Protestant minister would be as well accepted as the inner-city Roman Catholic pastor, and suburban pastors of both churches would be equally strongly rejected. The general pattern seems to show a preference for the lay rather than the clerical, for the inner-city rather than the suburb or rural areas. However, clerics are not considered as altogether

irrelevant to the modern urban apostolate, since the inner-city pastor is given the highest endorsement. The slight importance given to the nun may be an indication of the low status of women religious personnel in the Church, and also a lack of confidence in parochial schools. It is not surprising that the Jesuit university dean is rejected. The reason is obviously the lack of involvement of many Jesuit universities in urban problems.

Prejudice

The second personality question was on the respondent's childhood prejudice against Negroes. This question was asked because of its timeliness and also because of the relationship between racial prejudice and other political, economic, and social attitudes. Forty-seven per cent of the respondents were not prejudiced and 18 per cent were well disposed. This leaves 35 per cent who were prejudiced against Negroes before entrance into the Society of Jesus. This must be considered to be a high percentage especially because of the Mid-Western and urban character of the respondents.

When the social class of those who were slightly or very prejudiced against Negroes was tested, it was noticed that all the social classes had an almost equal percentage of prejudiced. A similar observation was made with regard to ethnicity, namely, that no relationship is observed between racial prejudice and ethnic origin in the present sample. These two findings will be confirmed by later attitude analyses.

TABLE 28.--Childhood racial prejudice

Racial attitudes	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	Overall%
Very prejudiced	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	6% (1)	10% (2)	0% (0)	3% (3)
Slightly prejud.	32 (7)	36 (5)	25 (5)	37 (6)	30 (6)	40 (4)	32 (33)
Not prejudiced	64 (14)	28 (4)	45 (9)	44 (7)	45 (9)	50 (5)	47 (48)
Well disposed	4 (1)	36 (5)	30 (6)	13 (2)	15 (3)	10 (1)	18 (18)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

TABLE 29.--Childhood racial prejudice, by social class

Objective social classes

Respondents prejudiced in childhood

1 (N = 18)	. . . . .	28% (5)
2 (N = 24)	. . . . .	38 (9)
3 (N = 27)	. . . . .	33 (9)
4 (N = 27)	. . . . .	37 (10)
5 (N = 5)	. . . . .	40 (2)

Authoritarianism

The F Scale of authoritarianism was administered to the whole sample. On this scale a person can be situated anywhere on a continuum between -90 and +90, the minus side showing anti-authoritarianism and the plus side authoritarianism. The scores of the present sample ranged from -82 to +20, showing that they lean heavily away from the direction of authoritarianism. The means of the six sample groups are -32, -37, -32, -29, -36, and -36.

TABLE 30.--Childhood racial prejudice, by ethnic group

Ethnic group		Respondents who were prejudiced
Irish	(N = 44)	34%(15)
Northern European	(N = 30)	37 (11)
Eastern European	(N = 15)	33 (5)
English	(N = 5)	40 (2)
Southern European	(N = 4)	25 (1)
French	(N = 2)	50 (1)

Since the whole sample was relatively homogeneous in anti-authoritarianism, an attempt was made to find a control group for purposes of comparison. Accordingly, the writer gave the F Scale test to 20 undergraduates of Loyola University who were Catholics and resided at Gonzaga Hall. In order to compare the sample of scholastics with the group of undergraduate college students, the range of the scholastics' score was divided into three equal intervals. These three intervals were considered as having a high, medium, or low authoritarian score. It was observed that while 14 per cent of the scholastics were high on authoritarianism, 30

TABLE 31.--Authoritarianism

Authoritarianism	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	Overall%
High	9%(12)	7% (1)	15% (3)	25% (4)	10% (2)	20% (2)	14%(14)
Medium	68 (15)	72 (10)	60 (12)	75 (12)	70 (14)	60 (6)	68 (69)
Low	23 (5)	21 (3)	25 (5)	0 (0)	20 (4)	20 (2)	18 (19)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	100(102)

TABLE 32.--Jesuit scholastics compared with Loyola undergraduates on authoritarianism

Authoritarianism	Jesuit scholastics N = 102	Loyola undergraduates N = 20
High	14%(14)	30% (6)
Medium	68 (68)	65 (13)
Low	18 (19)	5 (1)

per cent of Loyola students were high on the F Scale. Eighteen per cent of the Jesuit scholastics were low on authoritarianism while only 5 per cent of the college students were low on authoritarianism. Moreover, the mean of the students' score was -19, while that of the scholastics was in the -30's. This comparison confirms the fact that the sample of respondents is high on anti-authoritarianism.

Modal Jesuit Scholastic in the Sample

To summarize, we select the characteristics which are possessed by the greatest number of scholastics who were part of the stratified sample. The typical respondent is between the ages of 20 and 24. He is likely to have had both parents of Irish origin. He is thoroughly Americanized, being at least a fourth generation American. He belongs to the middle class and comes from a large city. The religious atmosphere in his childhood home was very sound by his own present evaluation, and the political atmosphere was moderate Democrat. Before he entered the Society, he received all his education in Catholic schools.

He has probably taken no academic courses in the social sciences. It is even less likely that he has undergone an academic program in Christian social doctrine. He has read about 3 to 5 of the basic documents stating Christian social principles in the modern world in the following order of probability: (1) the Thirty-First General Congregation's document on the social apostolate, (2) Pastoral constitution on the Church in the modern

world, (3) Father Arrupe's A letter on the interracial apostolate, (4) Pacem in terris, and (5) Mater et magistra. He has not read Populorum progressio. He probably does not read any Catholic newspapers or periodicals, but reads about 2 secular newspapers or periodicals. He has not read any book on social questions in the last six months.

Of all the people involved in the solution of modern urban social problems he thinks the inner-city pastor has most to contribute, and he rejects the suburban pastor as having nothing to offer. He thinks that as a child he was not prejudiced against Negroes. On the authoritarian scale he leans strongly on the side of anti-authoritarianism.

CHAPTER V

ITEM ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE SCALE

The third part of the questionnaire consisted of thirty statements which expressed certain opinions on current social issues. The criterion for the choice of issues was their timeliness and their connection with the ministry of Jesuits. Social problems which are closely connected with psychology, for example, alcoholism, insanity, and crime, were excluded because of the limited scope of the present thesis. The respondents were asked to select one out of a set of five possible answers: strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree, strongly disagree. It was hoped that the respondents would manifest their outlook on society by their acceptance or rejection of these statements. As Bauer, Inkeles, and Kluckhohn say, "It is a commonplace of psychology that the outlook of any group upon the world it experiences, is determined and reflected in an important extent by the clichés they continually use and by the habitual premises they accept."¹

These attitude statements are divided into three categories: (1) those which show knowledge of Christian social principles and/or social facts, (2) those which express affective

¹Raymond Bauer, Alex Inkeles, and Clyde Kluckhohn, How the Soviet system works (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), p. 166.

stances towards issues and persons, and (3) those which state a person's commitment or lack of it towards generic or specific social action. These divisions correspond to Secord and Backman's definition of attitudes:

The term attitude refers to certain regularities of an individual's feelings, thoughts, and predispositions to act toward some aspect of his environment. Feelings are often referred to as the affective component, thoughts as the cognitive component, and predispositions to act as the behavioral component.¹

For the purposes of item analysis of the attitude scale, "strongly agree" and "agree" will be combined as agreement with the statement, and "disagree" and "strongly disagree" will both be taken together as disagreement with it. The number and percentage of respondents in each stage of training will be compared to detect differences of attitude of one group from another on a specific issue. The scholastics' groups will be compared when possible with that of the 20 Loyola students. A percentage difference of more than 10 points will be considered significant. The actual raw figures are given in brackets in the tables.

Race relations

Tables 33 to 37 present an analysis of the cognitive component of attitudes towards Negroes. All the six statements express positions which are taken by those who either do not have the facts or are ignorant about Christian principles with regard to the rights of racial minorities. It is clear that the greater

¹Op. cit., p. 97.

TABLE 33.--Cognitive attitude statement on race relations: "For the most part, Negroes have as good employment opportunities in the United States as the whites."

Attitude	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	LS
Agree	9% (2)	0% (0)	10% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	20% (4)
Disagree	91 (20)	100 (14)	90 (18)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	75 (15)
Uncertain	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	20 (4)

TABLE 34.--Cognitive attitude statement on race relations: "When a Negro family moves into an all-white neighborhood, the property values of all residences drop inevitably."

Agree	32 (7)	21 (3)	25 (5)	19 (3)	5 (1)	0 (0)	30 (6)
Disagree	50 (11)	50 (7)	65 (13)	62 (10)	90 (18)	100 (10)	60 (12)
Uncertain	18 (4)	29 (4)	10 (2)	19 (3)	5 (1)	0 (0)	10 (2)

TABLE 35.--Cognitive attitude statement on race relations: "Strong anti-riot legislation is the best way to prevent race riots in the cities."

Agree	5 (1)	0 (0)	15 (3)	6 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	20 (4)
Disagree	77 (17)	79 (11)	85 (17)	94 (15)	100 (20)	100 (10)	75 (15)
Uncertain	18 (4)	21 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)

TABLE 36.--Cognitive attitude statement on race relations: "A person has the right to sell his home to Negroes."

Attitude	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	LS
Agree	59%(13)	28% (4)	45% (9)	31% (5)	20% (4)	40% (4)	60%(12)
Disagree	32 (7)	44 (6)	50 (10)	69 (11)	60 (12)	30 (3)	30 (6)
Uncertain	9 (2)	28 (4)	5 (1)	0 (0)	20 (4)	30 (3)	10 (2)

TABLE 37.--Cognitive attitude statement on race relations: "The high rate of crime, illegitimacy, poverty, and ignorance among Negroes shows that they are not ready yet for civil rights."

Agree	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (2)
Disagree	96 (21)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)	85 (7)
Uncertain	4 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)

TABLE 38.--Cognitive attitude statement on race relations: "A private country club has the right to exclude qualified Negroes from membership."

Agree	45 (10)	21 (3)	40 (8)	31 (5)	10 (2)	30 (3)	40 (8)
Disagree	55 (12)	44 (6)	55 (11)	44 (7)	70 (14)	60 (6)	50 (10)
Uncertain	0 (0)	35 (5)	5 (1)	25 (4)	20 (4)	10 (1)	10 (2)

majority of respondents reject the statements except in the case of the two statements with regard to the rights of private property. This attitude reflects both a general ignorance on the part of Catholics as to the limits of the rights to private property and the social obligation attached to that right, and also the fear of the white community about the supposed threat posed by the demands of some Negroes to live where they please within their financial limits.

On all the attitudes, there is a progressive disagreement from Novice to Junior to Philosopher to Regent to first year Theologian to third year Theologian. Here again the exceptions are the limits of the rights of private property. The third year Theologians represent a regression which reflects the fact of the ethnic origin of some of the scholastics in that group. On all the attitudes the Loyola students are the lowest in awareness about facts and principles. Their percentages on each attitude statement come closest to that of the Novices. This is another confirmation of the hypothesis that religious training does progressively affect the attitudes of Jesuit scholastics. The Novices may be said to be where the Loyola students are at present. Year by year the scholastic changes his attitudes, and here, improves his knowledge on social questions under the impact of a complexus of educational experiences, which are to be identified and analysed in subsequent chapters.

The affective attitude statements were posed to gauge the feelings of the respondents towards Negroes. Besides overt

attitudes, even subtle traces of racism were expected to be detected. The attitudes are generally favorable towards Negroes. However, the idea of integrated neighborhood communities is not so well accepted. While more than 90 per cent of the respondents in every stage of training are in favor of white and Negro children going to the same schools, only 55 to 70 per cent disagree with the statement that whites have a right to maintain their own neighborhoods. The thorny question of interracial marriages brings as much agreement as disagreement.

It is most interesting to note that while 85 to 100 per cent feel that Negroes should have the right to live where they wish even if they are not wanted in a particular neighborhood, 25 to 30 per cent feel that the right of white people to preserve their own neighborhoods should be respected. It is evident that there is hesitancy on the whole question of housing. In the true spirit of American democracy and freedom, the respondents feel that an American should be free to go and live where he pleases in the country and no one should stop him, not even the government. By the same token, they feel that groups of people have a right to band together to live in a place by themselves and exclude "intruders" if necessary.

The statement, "Manual labor and unskilled jobs seem to fit the Negroes' ability better than more skilled or responsible work," was included to find out whether any latent ideas on the racial inferiority of Negroes were present in the respondents. Two of the respondents feel that Negroes are inferior in ability

TABLE 39.--Affective attitude statement on race relations: "Negro and white children should attend the same schools."

Attitude	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	LS
Agree	92%(20)	100%(14)	95%(19)	94%(15)	100%(20)	90% (9)	85%(17)
Disagree	4 (1)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (2)
Uncertain	4 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (1)	0 (0)	10 (1)	5 (1)

TABLE 40.--Affective attitude statement on race relations: "manual labor and unskilled jobs seem to fit the Negroes' ability better than more skilled or responsible work."

Agree	4 (1)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (2)
Disagree	87 (19)	86 (12)	95 (19)	100 (16)	95 (19)	100 (10)	90 (18)
Uncertain	9 (2)	14 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)

TABLE 41.--Affective attitude statement on race relations: "Negroes must respect the rights of white people to maintain their own neighborhoods."

Agree	28 (6)	28 (4)	25 (5)	24 (4)	25 (5)	30 (3)	50 (10)
Disagree	68 (15)	58 (8)	55 (11)	69 (11)	45 (9)	70 (7)	25 (5)
Uncertain	4 (1)	14 (2)	20 (4)	7 (1)	30 (6)	0 (0)	25 (5)

TABLE 42.--Affective attitude statement on race relations: "Whenever I hear of marriages between whites and Negroes I welcome them as a sign of improving race relations."

Attitude	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	LS
Agree	41% (9)	50% (7)	55%(11)	32% (5)	40% (8)	50% (5)	25% (5)
Disagree	41 (9)	14 (2)	25 (5)	36 (6)	25 (5)	10 (1)	50 (10)
Uncertain	18 (4)	36 (5)	20 (4)	32 (5)	35 (1)	40 (4)	25 (5)

TABLE 43.--Affective attitude statement on race relations: "Negroes should not claim their right to live in areas where they are not wanted."

Agree	9 (2)	0 (0)	10 (2)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	20 (4)
Disagree	91 (20)	100 (14)	85 (17)	100 (16)	95 (19)	100 (10)	45 (9)
Uncertain	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	35 (7)

TABLE 44.--Affective attitude statement on race relations: "To prevent the growth of slums, the government should restrict the migration of Negroes and Puerto Ricans to the cities."

Agree	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	12 (2)	5 (1)	10 (1)	5 (1)
Disagree	91 (20)	100 (14)	75 (15)	81 (13)	70 (14)	80 (8)	90 (18)
Uncertain	9 (2)	0 (0)	20 (4)	7 (1)	25 (5)	10 (1)	5 (1)

to whites and 5 are uncertain about it. So we can say that 7 per cent of the respondents have an idea of the inferiority of Negroes vis-à-vis the whites, which may be said to be a remnant of racism.

The progression in growth in social attitudes which are more in conformity with Christian principles is present here too, except on the question of housing. The Loyola students are most removed from the ideal attitude, especially on housing. It is understandably an even greater stumbling block to lay people than to religious, since the laity have to live with the problem of integration, which Jesuit scholastics are quite removed from. While 91 per cent of the Novices feel that Negroes should claim their right to live where they wish even if they are not wanted, only half that percentage of Loyola students (45 per cent) feel the same way.

On the question of living in inner-city Negro neighborhoods, which has been recommended for Jesuits by Father General Arrupe, a relatively small percentage are agreeable. The most willing group is that of the Juniors, 79 per cent of whom would wish to live in an inner-city neighborhood. It is surprising to see that 7 Loyola students (35 per cent of the control sample) were interested in such experimental living. The percentages of the Loyola students are here almost identical with those of the Novices. While the Loyola students are apparently not much in favor of open housing, they would not mind living in Negro neighborhoods themselves. Such living would, of course, be experimental and have the thrill of novelty, but would not require any

TABLE 45.--Behavioral attitude statement on race relations: "If superiors permit it, I would wish to live in an inner-city neighborhood which is predominantly colored."

Attitude	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	LS
Agree	36% (8)	79%(11)	50%(10)	58% (9)	40% (8)	40% (4)	35% (7)
Disagree	28 (6)	0 (0)	20 (4)	12 (2)	25 (5)	30 (3)	35 (7)
Uncertain	36 (8)	21 (3)	30 (6)	30 (5)	35 (7)	30 (3)	30 (6)

TABLE 46.--Behavioral attitude statement on race relations: "Jesuits should get more involved in such areas as race relations, war on poverty, labor relations, etc."

Agree	82 (18)	93 (13)	90 (18)	94 (15)	95 (19)	90 (9)	20 (4)
Disagree	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	6 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	35 (7)
Uncertain	18 (4)	7 (1)	5 (1)	0 (0)	5 (1)	10 (1)	45 (9)

TABLE 47.--Behavioral attitude statement on race relations: "The Society of Jesus has done enough to harmonize race relations in this country."

Agree	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (1)	5 (1)	0 (0)	10 (2)
Disagree	96 (21)	93 (13)	100 (20)	94 (15)	95 (19)	100 (10)	75 (15)
Uncertain	4 (1)	7 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	15 (3)

radical change in basic ways of thinking and living. Such a change is demanded in an open housing system.

An overwhelming majority of scholastics feel that Jesuits should get more involved in the solution of social problems. Only 2 respondents agree that Jesuits have done enough in the past to harmonize race relations. However, 35 per cent of the Loyola students would not wish to see more Jesuits in the racial field. This is probably because as students in a Jesuit school they would not like the Society of Jesus to cut back on its commitment to education. Notwithstanding, 70 per cent of them feel that Jesuits have not done enough in the past on the race problem.

Poverty

Those who think that the fundamental cause of blighted neighborhoods is negligence and vandalism on the part of those who inhabit these substandard housing areas show an ignorance of the true causes of the growth of slums in the cities. The scholastics show a progressively greater knowledge about this problem area. While 50 per cent of the Novices disagree that negligence and vandalism are the fundamental causes of slums, 80 per cent of the third year Theologians disagree with that simplistic statement. But only 35 per cent of the Loyola students are in disagreement.

The next statement on the causes of poverty was placed to find out whether the respondents subscribe to a popular theory that the poor have been reduced to that state by their own laziness and extravagance. The overwhelming majority of scholastics

TABLE 48.--Cognitive attitude statement on poverty: "The most fundamental cause of blighted neighborhoods is negligence and vandalism."

Attitudes	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	LS
Agree	18% (4)	21% (3)	40% (8)	24% (4)	30% (6)	10% (1)	60%(12)
Disagree	50 (11)	44 (6)	55 (11)	58 (9)	60 (12)	80 (8)	35 (7)
Uncertain	32 (7)	35 (5)	5 (1)	18 (3)	10 (2)	10 (1)	5 (1)

TABLE 49.--Cognitive attitude statement on poverty: "Disinclination to work and living beyond means are the main causes of poverty."

Agree	9 (2)	0 (0)	10 (2)	6 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	35 (7)
Disagree	91 (20)	86 (12)	90 (18)	88 (14)	80 (16)	100 (10)	55 (11)
Uncertain	0 (0)	14 (2)	0 (0)	6 (1)	20 (4)	0 (0)	10 (2)

TABLE 50.--Cognitive attitude statement on international issues: "Overpopulation is one of the greatest obstacles to the economic development of most of Asia and Latin America."

Agree	55 (12)	43 (6)	40 (8)	32 (5)	55 (11)	30 (3)	60 (12)
Disagree	13 (3)	43 (6)	30 (6)	36 (6)	25 (5)	50 (5)	30 (6)
Uncertain	32 (7)	14 (2)	30 (6)	32 (5)	20 (4)	20 (2)	10 (2)

reject this explanation of poverty, while 35 per cent of the Loyola students accept it.

International issues

Knowledge about the basic problems of underdevelopment seems to be scant. There is no doubt that overpopulation is one of the basic obstacles to economic growth in the developing nations. Any progress made in the area of capital development is wiped out by an ever increasing proportion of dependent population. While 60 per cent of the Loyola students are aware of this problem and 55 per cent of the Novices, there seems to be less of this knowledge in the ensuing periods of formation. The scholastics are either lacking in knowledge or their humanitarian feelings for the poor keep them from considering the growing numbers of poor people in the world as the cause of underdevelopment.

There is a similar lack of knowledge with regard to the controversial question of foreign aid. However, the disagreement with the conservative attitude statement grows with the grades of training. While 22 per cent of the Novices disagree that the United States is doing enough by way of economic aid to the developing nations, 70 per cent of the third year Theologians disagree with that statement. The Loyola students are close to the Novices. About 30 per cent of them disagree.

Answers to the next question indicating the personal interest and commitment of the scholastics to the problems of the developing nations. From the Novices to the third year Theolo-

TABLE 51.--Cognitive attitude statement on international issues: "The United States is doing more than its share in giving economic aid to the developing nations."

Attitudes	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	LS
Agree	50%(11)	14% (2)	15% (3)	24% (4)	30% (6)	20% (2)	60%(12)
Disagree	22 (5)	50 (7)	40 (8)	58 (9)	45 (9)	70 (7)	30 (6)
Uncertain	28 (6)	36 (5)	45 (9)	18 (3)	25 (5)	10 (1)	10 (2)

TABLE 52.--Behavioral attitude statement on international issues: "All Jesuits should be ready to spend part of their apostolic career in the developing countries."

Agree	55 (12)	71 (10)	75 (15)	62 (10)	50 (10)	70 (7)	45 (9)
Disagree	18 (4)	21 (3)	10 (2)	25 (4)	30 (6)	20 (2)	30 (6)
Uncertain	27 (6)	7 (1)	15 (3)	13 (2)	20 (4)	10 (1)	25 (5)

TABLE 53.--Affective attitude statement on war: "The best way for the United States to combat Communism is to severely punish its every act of aggression."

Agree	9 (2)	14 (2)	0 (0)	13 (2)	10 (2)	10 (1)	45 (9)
Disagree	55 (12)	79 (11)	90 (18)	74 (12)	80 (16)	90 (9)	50 (10)
Uncertain	36 (8)	7 (1)	10 (2)	13 (2)	10 (2)	0 (0)	5 (1)

gians there is an increasing agreement that all Jesuits should spend some time working in the developing countries. Loyola students show less interest than the Novices. As in several of the other attitude statements the Juniors and Philosophers stand out a bit from the rest of the groups.

War

The majority sentiment in all the groups is against the use of war to solve international problems. While 50 per cent of the Loyola students and 55 per cent of the Novices are against, 90 per cent of the third year Theologians feel that the use of force by the United States is not the best way to contain world Communism. However, 45 per cent of the Loyola students agree with the statement and 5 per cent are uncertain, while 36 per cent of the Novices are uncertain. The general hypothesis of the thesis, namely, that social attitudes vary with the stages of training is evidenced also in this attitude.

Migrant labor

An almost equal percentage of Novices as Loyola students agree with the statement that it is unfair to hire immigrant laborers for a lower wage. But while 9 per cent of the Novices are uncertain, none of the college students are uncertain. The general pattern seems to be that the social attitudes of the Novices are strikingly similar to those of the control group. But while the control group leans a little away from what are considered in the thesis as Christian attitudes, there are more Novices

TABLE 54.--Cognitive attitude statement on migrant labor: "It is unfair to hire a Mexican farm laborer below the minimum wage even if he is willing to work for it."

Attitude	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	LS
Agree	82%(18)	100%(14)	90%(18)	75%(12)	90%(18)	90% (9)	80%(16)
Disagree	9 (2)	0 (0)	5 (1)	6 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	20 (4)
Uncertain	9 (2)	0 (0)	5 (1)	19 (3)	10 (2)	10 (1)	0 (0)

TABLE 55.--Cognitive attitude statement on unionization: "A charitable institution, like a Catholic hospital, may justifiably forbid the unionization of its personnel."

Agree	9 (2)	7 (1)	15 (3)	12 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	30 (6)
Disagree	50 (11)	79 (11)	60 (12)	88 (14)	90 (18)	90 (9)	70 (14)
Uncertain	41 (9)	14 (2)	25 (5)	0 (0)	10 (2)	10 (1)	0 (0)

TABLE 56.--Behavioral attitude statement on social consciousness: "When I am absorbed in my own work, I tend to neglect the rest of the world."

Agree	9 (2)	44 (6)	45 (9)	48 (8)	55 (11)	40 (4)	60 (12)
Disagree	68 (15)	50 (7)	50 (10)	40 (6)	45 (9)	60 (6)	20 (4)
Uncertain	23 (5)	6 (1)	5 (1)	12 (2)	0 (0)	20 (2)	20 (4)

in the "uncertain" category. The general pattern of progression in social attitudes continues through the grades of training.

Unionization

The principle of the right to unionize on the part of factory personnel is by and large accepted in American society. But recent events show that the right of white collar workers and public service personnel to unionize, negotiate, and strike, if necessary, is getting at best uncertain notice, at worst outright condemnation. Though it must be admitted that there can be seriously unethical practices on the part of unions, especially when whole segments of society are paralysed by strikes, the right to unionize cannot be denied. This right is sometimes denied to the employees of charitable institutions. But even the latter can be sometimes unjust and uncharitable to their own employees. The greater majority of the respondents support the right of personnel in a charitable institution to unionize. The acceptance of this right increases as the stages of training are past.

The interesting relationship between the Loyola students and the Novices is seen also here. We can assume that before Jesuit Novices entered the Society of Jesus, their social attitudes were identical with those of Catholic college students. Under the impact of initial spiritual training, especially the Spiritual Exercises,¹ their outlook has become more humanitarian. A

¹This is a highly structured form of spiritual renovation consisting of thirty days of prayer, meditation on the Gospels, and reflection on one's personal ideals and goals in life. The

comparison of the first and last columns of Table 55 will illustrate this. From an initial position where 30 per cent agreed with the view that a charitable institution may justifiably forbid the unionization of its personnel, with the novitiate experience 20 per cent have dropped to the "uncertain" category. Also 20 per cent have dropped from the "disagree" position to the "uncertain" position. The noviceship may be said to be a time when some reorganization of attitudes takes place. Initially there is an increase of uncertainty when old norms are given up. Slowly they are replaced by newer norms which are more in keeping with Christian social principles. An alternate explanation for the difference in the socio-religious attitudes of the college students and the Jesuit Novices might be that a process of self-selection has been at work, so that those students whose outlook was more Christian from the start have been siphoned off into the religious life. The problem of training versus self-selection cannot be given a definitive answer from the present findings.

Social consciousness

Four statements were posed for evaluation in order to measure the attitudes of the scholastics on the social involvement of Jesuits. A fair-sized percentage feel that they have a tendency to forget the rest of the world when they are absorbed in their own work. While a great majority agree that a priest should be as

plan for it was set down in a booklet called The spiritual exercises composed by Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit order.

TABLE 57.--Behavioral attitude statement on social consciousness: "When I hear of people who are deprived of freedom and of just treatment, I find myself planning how I can help them."

Attitude	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	LS
Agree	36% (8)	65% (9)	70%(14)	46% (7)	45% (9)	40% (4)	30% (6)
Disagree	28 (6)	21 (3)	25 (5)	48 (8)	30 (6)	40 (4)	45 (9)
Uncertain	36 (8)	14 (2)	5 (1)	6 (1)	25 (5)	20 (2)	25 (5)

TABLE 58.--Behavioral attitude statement on social consciousness: "A priest should be as deeply involved in the social welfare of people as he is in giving purely spiritual or sacramental services."

Agree	68 (15)	93 (13)	90 (18)	81 (13)	95 (19)	60 (6)	80 (16)
Disagree	9 (2)	0 (0)	10 (2)	12 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	20 (4)
Uncertain	23 (5)	7 (1)	0 (0)	7 (1)	5 (1)	40 (4)	0 (0)

TABLE 59.--Behavioral attitude statement on social consciousness: "Religious leaders should not take a public stand on issues which are connected with politics."

Agree	18 (4)	0 (0)	5 (1)	12 (2)	5 (1)	10 (1)	25 (5)
Disagree	64 (14)	86 (12)	80 (16)	81 (13)	80 (16)	90 (9)	75 (15)
Uncertain	18 (4)	14 (2)	15 (3)	7 (1)	15 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)

TABLE 60.--Affective attitude statement on individualism: "The effort of individuals is more important than government planning in solving social and economic problems."

Attitude	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	LS
Agree	41% (9)	35% (5)	50%(10)	30% (5)	50%(10)	20% (2)	65%(13)
Disagree	36 (8)	44 (6)	45 (9)	52 (8)	25 (5)	70 (7)	15 (3)
Uncertain	23 (5)	21 (3)	5 (1)	18 (3)	25 (5)	10 (1)	20 (4)

TABLE 61.--Behavioral attitude statement on individualism: "The best way to improve world conditions is for each man to attend seriously to his own reform."

Agree	36 (8)	44 (6)	45 (9)	25 (4)	20 (4)	20 (2)	55 (11)
Disagree	32 (7)	28 (4)	35 (7)	62 (10)	50 (10)	80 (8)	35 (7)
Uncertain	32 (7)	28 (4)	20 (4)	13 (2)	30 (6)	0 (0)	10 (2)

TABLE 62.--Affective attitude statement on individualism: "Catholics must cooperate in social action programs, such as running a non-profit employment agency for the unemployed poor, which are originated by Protestants or Jews."

Agree	92 (20)	79 (11)	100 (20)	100 (16)	85 (17)	100 (10)	65 (13)
Disagree	4 (1)	7 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	20 (4)
Uncertain	4 (1)	14 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (2)	0 (0)	15 (3)

deeply involved in the social welfare of people as he is in giving purely spiritual or sacramental services, and that he has a right to take a public stand on issues which may be connected with politics, a much smaller percentage admit that they themselves are personally concerned with social problems. One surprise in these four statements is that among all scholastics the Novices are the highest in not neglecting the rest of the world while they are absorbed in their own work. For the rest, the general pattern observed so far is maintained, the Juniors and Philosophers standing a little above the other groups.

Individualism

There is a surprisingly large percentage in each group who support the principle of individualism in the solution of the problems of society. As many as 50 per cent of the Theologians agree with the statement. Given the general pattern of the attitudes of the Loyola students, it is not surprising that 65 per cent of them lean towards individualism. The percentage of those who disagree with the principle of individualism increases with the grades of training from 36 to 70 per cent.

The percentages on the second statement on individualism are similar to those on attitude towards government planning. There is progressive disagreement from 32 per cent of the Novices to 80 per cent of the Theologians. The Loyola students stand in their expected position a little lower than the Novices. It was not possible from the data obtained through the thesis question-

naire to find out the relationship between devotionism and individualistic or voluntaristic humanitarianism. Gerhard Lenski observed a correlation between the two.¹ If this true, then Jesuit scholastics should be expected to be lower than the Loyola Catholic students in devotionism.

Finally, 100 per cent of the Philosophers, Regents, and third year Theologians give their approval to ecumenical cooperation. But only 65 per cent of the Loyola students feel that Catholics should cooperate in non-Catholic-sponsored social action.

Summary

This chapter analysed the attitudes of Jesuit scholastics in six stages of training on current social issues, namely, race relations, poverty, international problems, war, migrant labor, unionization, social consciousness, individualism, and ecumenism. The attitudes of the scholastics on each issue were compared with those of a control group consisting of 20 Loyola undergraduates. It was found that the majority of scholastics support the liberal Catholic position on contemporary social issues. However, they have a reservation on open housing, with the percentage of scholastics who subscribe to it increasing with the grades of training. This pattern is persistently maintained. The Loyola students are in marked contrast with the scholastics, but in suchwise that if they were placed on the lowest rung of the grade scale, the

¹Op. cit., p. 205.

progression from Loyola student to Jesuit Novice to Junior and so forth, would be seen to be uniform. According to the findings related in this chapter, the general hypothesis, namely, that Jesuit training influences the social attitudes of scholastics, must be considered to have been sustained. In many cases the differences in the various successive grades exceed 10 percentage points, which were taken as the criterion of significance.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF VARIABLES

The purpose of this chapter is to relate the socio-religious attitudes of the respondents to a series of independent variables which are hypothesized to be related with such attitudes either directly or inversely. Here we take all the attitudes treated in the previous chapter together as one dependent variable. For this purpose a score is assigned to each answer of the respondent. The answers "strongly agree," "agree," "uncertain," "disagree," and "strongly disagree" are assigned scores of 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 respectively when the attitude statement is in accordance with Christian social principles. The scoring is reversed when the statement is contrary to Christian social principles. The total score obtained by the respondent is taken as a measure of his socio-religious attitudes. For the purposes of analysis, the range of the respondents' scores (83 to 138) was divided into three equal intervals which are called "low," "medium," and "high scores." The higher the score, the more the socio-religious attitudes are in conformity with Christian social principles. The procedure will be to compute epsilons for each table in which the independent variable is an ordinal measure. If the epsilons show a direction, the gamma coefficient will be computed to measure the

strength of the relation between the given independent variable and socio-religious attitudes.

Period of training

The majority of Novices, Juniors, Philosophers, and Regents have a medium score, while a majority of the first year and third year Theologians have a high score. While only 32 per cent of the Novices have a high score, the percentage with high scores increases slightly, except in the case of the Philosophers and Regents, till it reaches 60 per cent with the third year Theologians. When epsilons were computed, a slight trend was observed. The gamma coefficient, which is +0.17, indicates that there is a positive relationship between the grades of training and social attitudes, a relationship which is strong enough in sociology.

TABLE 63.--SRAS scores, by grades of training

SRAS	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T
Low	18% (4)	0% (0)	10% (2)	7% (1)	15% (3)	0% (0)
Medium	50 (11)	65 (9)	60 (12)	67 (11)	40 (8)	40 (4)
High	32 (7)	35 (5)	30 (6)	26 (4)	45 (9)	60 (6)
Total	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	100 (16)	100 (20)	100 (10)

Epsilon (top row) = +18, -10, +3, -8, +15
 Epsilon (bottom row) = -2, +5, +4, -19, -15
 Gamma = +0.17

Age

Since the grades of training more or less overlap with the

age groups, it was more difficult to separate the two. What is due to maturity which comes with increasing age could be attributed to religious training. However, the sample could be divided into four age groups independently of grade. It can be observed from Table 64 and from the epsilons that no relationship exists between age and social attitudes in the present sample.

TABLE 64.--SRAS scores, by age groups

SRAS	Age in years			
	19 or under	20-24	25-29	30-34
Low	15% (3)	8% (3)	7% (2)	13% (2)
Medium	50 (10)	64 (25)	48 (13)	47 (7)
High	36 (7)	28 (11)	45 (12)	40 (6)
Total	100 (20)	100 (39)	100 (27)	100 (15)

Epsilon (top row) = +7, +1, -6

Epsilon (bottom row) = +7, -17, +5

Table 65 is an attempt to relate the six groups to socio-religious attitudes with age controlled. The attempt was not successful since only 1 Novice and 1 Junior are in the 25 and above age group. The Philosophers are only in the 24 and below group, and the Theologians are only in the 25 and above group. The Regents who are midway in the training are found in both age groups, but the differences in their medians are not significant.

Ethnicity

From an examination of Table 66 no significant relationship can be detected between social attitudes and ethnic origin. Though the writer hypothesized a negative correlation between ethnicity and social attitudes because of the findings of other studies, he had an unformed hypothesis in his mind that religious training can at least partially wipe out a nationality-biased outlook on life. The findings of the present thesis may be said to have at least partially confirmed the unwritten hypothesis. The only difficulty is the smallness of the sample.

TABLE 65.--Median SRAS scores of the six groups with age controlled

Age	Median SRAS scores					
	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T
24 & bel.	109	116	112	115	..	..
25 & abv.	127	117	..	114	116	121

TABLE 66.--SRAS scores, by father's ethnic group

SRAS	Irish	N. Eur.	E. Eur.	Eng.	S. Eur.	French
Low	9% (4)	17% (5)	0% (0)	20% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Medium	59 (26)	57 (17)	34 (5)	20 (1)	75 (3)	50 (1)
High	32 (14)	26 (8)	66 (10)	60 (3)	25 (1)	50 (1)
Total	100 (44)	100 (30)	100 (15)	100 (5)	100 (4)	100 (2)

The purpose of making a separate test for the paternal and maternal ethnic group was to find out which one was a stronger influence. This question was suggested by the inquiries of John O'Connell into the relationship of Jesuit scholastics to their fathers and mothers, and its influence on their integration with or alienation from their religious order. His conclusion was,

The null hypothesis of no relation between the extent of integration/alienation and maternal nationality cannot be rejected. However, the appearance of any significant differences in the distribution by maternal nationality when none appeared in the distribution by paternal nationality is strongly suggestive of maternal influence, irrespective of nationality.¹

TABLE 67.--SRAS scores, by mother's ethnic group

SRAS	Irish	N. Eur.	E. Eur.	Eng.	S. Eur.	French
Low	8%(14)	17% (3)	0% (0)	20% (1)	0% (0)	29% (2)
Medium	59 (30)	72 (13)	15 (2)	20 (1)	50 (3)	14 (1)
High	33 (17)	11 (2)	85 (11)	60 (3)	50 (3)	57 (4)
Total	100 (51)	100 (18)	100 (13)	100 (5)	100 (6)	100 (7)

But from the present writer's findings no relationship between maternal nationality and the respondents' attitudes was found.

Degree of Americanization

It is hypothesized that social attitudes are related to the position held in a society by a person. In American society which

¹Op. cit., p. 150.

is made up of immigrants, the longer one has been in the country the more he has imbibed American culture and values and been accepted in the society. Those who are immigrants themselves or children of immigrants generally have the insecurity which their marginality imposes on them. The longer one's family has been in the United States, the more secure his position and the more relaxed his attitudes towards society. This hypothesis is not substantiated by the findings of the present thesis. The highest percentage of high scores is in the second generation Americans.

TABLE 68.--SRAS scores, by degrees of assimilation

SRAS	Second generation	Third generation	4th gener. & bey.
Low	18% (2)	8% (3)	12% (5)
Medium	27 (3)	59 (23)	45 (18)
High	55 (6)	33 (13)	43 (17)
Total	100 (11)	100 (39)	100 (40)

Social class

The epsilons for the social classes of both varieties do not show any direction. But while in Hollingshead's social classes, the majority of the respondents in every class are concentrated on the medium score, in the subjective social classes, the majority of respondents in the upper and upper middle classes are on the high score. Those who are in the upper classes by their own self-evaluation, have a consciousness of their social position

which imposes the acceptance of a value-attitude system which is proper to these classes. The upper classes can generally be liberal in their social attitudes because their own social and economic position in society is not threatened by underprivileged people. However, we can say that neither objective nor subjective social class position has a significant relationship with the socio-religious attitudes of the present respondents. As in the case of ethnicity, the religious life and discipline may have eliminated some of the traces of class consciousness and class attitudes.

TABLE 69.--SRAS scores, by objective social classes

SRAS	Objective social classes		
	1	2 & 3	4 & 5
Low	11% (2)	10% (5)	11% (3)
Medium	56 (10)	51 (26)	56 (18)
High	33 (6)	39 (20)	33 (11)
Total	100 (18)	100 (51)	100 (32)

Epsilon (top row) = +1, -1

Epsilon (bottom row) = -6, +6

Type of community of origin

Rural-farm and non-farm areas and small towns and small cities have too few representatives on the sample to make the results sociologically meaningful. So we will compare those who

come from large cities with those who resided in suburbs of large cities before their entrance into the Society of Jesus. A greater percentage of those from the suburbs have a high score on the SRAS. The percentage difference is 18 points which must be said to be significant. The social class of suburbanites is generally higher than that of the city people as can be seen from Table 72. But an analysis of class taken by itself as an independent variable has shown no relationship with socio-religious attitudes. Only a multivariate analysis of class and community of origin would have given us a clearer idea of their relative position with regard to attitudes. The meager sample did not permit such an analysis.

TABLE 70.--SRAS scores, by subjective social classes

SRAS	Upper & upper-middle	Middle	Working
Low	9% (1)	11% (7)	4% (1)
Medium	36 (4)	57 (37)	56 (14)
High	55 (6)	32 (21)	40 (10)
Total	100 (11)	100 (65)	100 (25)

Epsilon (top row) = -2, +7

Epsilon (bottom row) = +23, -8

Socialization

When the religious atmosphere of the childhood home is divided into three categories--very sound, fairly sound, and not

very sound or very poor--it is noticed that the distribution of low, medium, and high scores is identical in the "very sound" and "not very sound or very poor" categories. The greatest percentage of high scores is in the third category. While a very sound religious atmosphere can create healthy social attitudes in children, it is not entirely incomprehensible that a not very sound or very poor religious atmosphere should create good social attitudes. The atmosphere in such homes is likely to be liberal and perhaps humanitarian. It is also possible that training in the Society of Jesus has counteracted the influence of unsound religious atmosphere in the childhood home.

TABLE 71.--SRAS scores, by size and type of community of origin

SRAS	Rural	Small town	Large city	Suburbs
Low	0% (0)	0% (0)	12% (7)	10% (3)
Medium	67 (2)	50 (6)	59 (35)	43 (12)
High	33 (1)	50 (6)	29 (17)	47 (13)
Total	100 (3)	100 (12)	100 (59)	100 (28)

Table 74 divides the political atmosphere of the respondents' childhood home into categories of conservative, moderate, liberal, and other. It can be seen that those who came from homes with a moderate political atmosphere have the highest percentage in the high score. On the low score row, those who came from homes where politics was not a subject of interest have the

highest percentage. They have also the lowest percentage on the high score.

TABLE 72.--Social classes, by type of community of origin

Class	City	Suburb
1	17%(10)	18% (5)
2	20 (12)	32 (9)
3	24 (14)	32 (9)
4	29 (17)	18 (5)
5	8 (5)	0 (0)
N. gvn	2 (1)	0 (0)
Total	100 (59)	100 (28)

Epsilon (top row) = +1, -1
Epsilon (bottom row) = +6, -8

TABLE 73.--SRAS scores, by religious atmosphere of childhood home

SRAS	Religious atmosphere		
	Very sound	Fairly sound	Not sound
Low	10% (6)	9% (3)	10% (1)
Medium	52 (30)	59 (20)	50 (5)
High	38 (22)	32 (11)	40 (4)
Total	100 (58)	100 (34)	100 (10)

Epsilon (top row) = +1, -1
Epsilon (bottom row) = +6, -8

When the political atmosphere is divided into Democrat, Republican and other, it is observed that there is no difference

between the Democrats and Republicans. However, in the "other" category, made up of those who are indifferent to politics or have no party affiliation, there is a significant difference. They have the highest percentage of respondents on the low score and the lowest percentage on the high score. We can conclude from this that there is a strong relationship between a childhood home atmosphere of lack of interest in public affairs and adult social attitudes.

TABLE 74.--SRAS scores, by political atmosphere of childhood home

SRAS	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal	Indifferent
Low	5% (1)	8% (5)	0% (0)	27% (4)
Medium	58 (11)	50 (30)	75 (6)	53 (8)
High	33 (7)	42 (25)	25 (2)	20 (3)
Total	100 (19)	100 (60)	100 (8)	100 (15)

TABLE 75.--SRAS scores, by family political affiliation

SRAS	Democrat	Republican	Neither
Low	7% (6)	9% (3)	27% (4)
Medium	54 (47)	57 (20)	53 (8)
High	39 (34)	34 (12)	20 (3)
Total	100 (87)	100 (35)	100 (15)

Formal education

Those who had all their education in Catholic schools before entrance into the Society of Jesus, have a slightly higher percentage in the high score category. But the difference is not large enough to be considered significant.

Table 77 relates social attitudes to courses taken in Christian social doctrine. The conclusions that can be drawn are quite unexpected. It is observed that the more courses the respondents have taken, the lower the score they obtain on the socio-religious attitude scale. Though the writer presents this finding for what it is worth, he attributes the anomaly to the smallness of the sample, especially among those who have taken courses in Christian social principles. Table 77 might also be interpreted by other analysts as a crucial disproof of the idea that courses taken are important for determination of liberalism of outlook.

TABLE 76.--SRAS scores, by amount of Catholic education in childhood

SRAS	Catholic education	
	All	Some or none
Low	11%(10)	0% (0)
Medium	52 (44)	65 (11)
High	37 (31)	35 (6)
Total	100 (85)	100 (17)

TABLE 77.--SRAS scores, by courses in Christian social doctrine

SRAS	Number of courses		
	0	1	2 or more
Low	11% (7)	5% (1)	12% (2)
Medium	48 (31)	57 (12)	71 (12)
High	41 (26)	38 (8)	17 (3)
Total	100 (64)	100 (21)	100 (17)

Epsilon (top row) = +6, -7
 Epsilon (bottom row) = +3, +21

As in the case of courses in Christian social doctrine, the relationship between social attitudes and courses in the social sciences is not clear. Until more data on much larger samples is obtained, no meaningful conclusions can be drawn. When such courses are taken voluntarily, it is possible that favorable social attitudes existed even before the person signed up. In fact, it is such attitudes that may have generated interest in the social sciences. When courses are taken because they are required as part of the curriculum, it is expected that the increase in knowledge of social facts and principles might bring about some change in social attitudes. In any case, some relationship should be observed between the taking of courses in Christian social doctrine and/or social sciences and the formation of social attitudes. So it is surprising that no such relationship can be detected from the present findings.

TABLE 78.--SRAS scores, by social science courses

SRAS	Number of courses		
	0	1-2	3 or more
Low	13% (7)	4% (1)	7% (2)
Medium	54 (28)	46 (10)	61 (17)
High	33 (17)	50 (11)	32 (9)
Total	100 (52)	100 (22)	100 (28)

Epsilon (top row) = +9, -3
 Epsilon (bottom row) = -17, +18

Reading

There is a gradual decline in the percentage of those having low scores as we go from those who have not read any of the basic documents on Christian social principles to those who have read 1 or 2, 3 or 4, and 5 or 6 documents. But no such relationship is seen on the high score row. When the gamma coefficient was calculated, it was obvious that in the present sample there is no relationship at all between the reading of documents on Christian social principles and social attitudes.

Table 80 relates socio-religious attitudes to reading of Catholic newspapers and periodicals. From absolute percentages, a trend is clearly seen. The percentage having low scores increases as the number of Catholic newspapers and periodicals increases. By the same token, percentage of respondents having high scores decreases as the number of Catholic newspapers and magazines they

read increases. When the gamma coefficient was computed, it was found to be -0.12 , showing some negative correlation between the reading of Catholic magazines and periodicals and social attitudes. Until we have more data from larger samples we must stay with the conclusion that the reading of Catholic magazines and periodicals at present does not influence the social attitudes of Jesuit scholastics. It might even be said to hinder the formation of socio-religious attitudes.

TABLE 79.--SRAS scores, by reading of documents on Christian social doctrine

SRAS	Number of documents			
	0	1-2	3-4	5-6
Low	17% (1)	13% (4)	7% (3)	8% (2)
Medium	66 (4)	40 (12)	61 (25)	56 (14)
High	17 (1)	47 (14)	32 (13)	36 (9)
Total	100 (6)	100 (30)	100 (41)	100 (24)

Epsilon (top row) = $+4, +6, -1$
 Epsilon (bottom row) = $-30, +15, -4$
 Gamma = -0.05

When it comes to secular newspapers and magazines, no relationship can be observed between their reading and social attitudes. Among those who read no newspapers or magazines, the respondents are equally distributed on the low, medium, and high score categories. Among those who read 1 or more newspapers and

magazines, the highest percentage of respondents is concentrated on the medium score, and those who have a low score are only a small percentage. So we must conclude that social attitudes are related to the reading of at least 1 secular newspaper or magazine. But it does not follow that one who reads more than 1 secular newspaper or magazine has better social attitudes than one who reads only 1 secular newspaper or magazine. In other words, keeping contact with the world around by some reading of newspapers or magazines helps to acquire right social attitudes. But the amount of such reading is not of significance, statistically speaking.

TABLE 80.--SRAS scores, by reading of Catholic newspapers and periodicals

SRAS	Number of newspapers and periodicals read		
	0	1-2	3 or more
Low	9% (3)	10% (4)	12% (3)
Medium	50 (17)	54 (23)	58 (15)
High	41 (14)	36 (15)	30 (8)
Total	100 (34)	100 (42)	100 (26)

Epsilon (top row) = -1, -2
 Epsilon (bottom row) = +5, +6
 Gamma = -0.12

Finally, the relationship between reading and socio-religious attitudes is clearest in the case of books on social

questions. The percentage difference in high score of those who have read no such books and those who have read 1 or 2 is considerable. The gamma coefficient is +0.53, showing a clearly positive correlation. However, we do not yet postulate causality, since it is most likely that the social attitudes preceded and were the cause of the reading. The most we can say from the present data is that reading of books on social problems is a clear predictor of socio-religious attitudes which are in conformity with Christian principles.

TABLE 81.--SRAS scores, by reading of secular newspapers and periodicals

SRAS	Number of secular magazines and newspapers read			
	0	1-2	3-4	5 or more
Low	34% (5)	0% (0)	5% (3)	8% (2)
Medium	33 (5)	58 (21)	62 (16)	52 (13)
High	33 (5)	42 (15)	33 (7)	40 (10)
Total	100 (15)	100 (36)	100 (26)	100 (25)

Epsilon (top row) = +34, -5, -3

Epsilon (bottom row) = -9, +9, -7

Personality traits

In Table 83 the relationship between childhood prejudice against Negroes and present social attitudes is unmistakable. Especially noteworthy is the fact that, of those who were well-disposed towards Negroes, no one has obtained a low score on the

attitude scale. Moreover, while 39 per cent of those who were not prejudiced have a high score, as many as 61 per cent of the well-disposed have a high score. The gamma coefficient is +0.46, which shows that the relationship between childhood prejudice and present social attitudes is positive and significant.

TABLE 82.--SRAS scores, by reading of books on social questions

SRAS	Number of books read		
	0	1-2	3 or more
Low	11% (9)	4% (1)	0% (0)
Medium	60 (42)	39 (9)	38 (3)
High	27 (19)	57 (13)	62 (5)
Total	100 (70)	100 (23)	100 (8)

Epsilon (top row) = +7, +4
 Epsilon (bottom row) = -20, -5
 Gamma = +0.53

TABLE 83.--SRAS scores, by childhood prejudice against Negroes

SRAS	Prejudiced	Not prejudiced	Well-disposed
Low	14% (5)	11% (5)	0% (0)
Medium	67 (24)	50 (24)	39 (7)
High	19 (7)	39 (19)	61 (11)
Total	100 (36)	100 (48)	100 (18)

Epsilon (top row) = +3, +11
 Epsilon (bottom row) = -20, -22
 Gamma = +0.46

Of all the variables analysed so far, authoritarianism must be said to have the strongest relationship with socio-religious attitudes in the inverse direction. Table 84 as well as the gamma coefficient (-0.66) show that the hypothesis of a negative correlation between authoritarianism and socio-religious attitudes which are in conformity with Christian principles must be accepted. The reason for it is probably that both scales are measuring diverse manifestations of the same underlying character traits.

To further confirm the hypothesis, the Spearman Rank Correlation (r_s) was calculated for the social attitude scores and the F Scale scores in each group of the sample. The six r_s 's are -0.76, -0.11, -0.50, -0.80, -0.71, -0.05. These results give us an overwhelming confirmation of the hypothesis. However, it is not clear why in the sample of Juniors and third year Theologians, r_s is considerably lower than that of the other groups. In these two groups, authoritarianism must be said to have less influence on socio-religious attitudes. The reason for it is not clear. When r_s was calculated for the Loyola students, it was found to be -0.62.

Summary

This chapter related the socio-religious attitudes to twelve independent variables of social background, socialization, and education. It was done by taking the total of each respondent's attitude score. The range of the whole sample was divided into three equal intervals and considered as low, medium, and high

score. The operation was to find out what percentage of low, medium, and high scoring respondents were to be found in each category of each independent variable.

TABLE 84.--SRAS scores, by authoritarianism

SRAS	F Scale scores		
	Low	Medium	High
Low	0% (0)	7% (5)	38% (5)
Medium	37 (7)	59 (41)	54 (7)
High	63 (12)	34 (24)	8 (1)
Total	100 (19)	100 (70)	100 (13)

Epsilon (top row) = -7, -31
 Epsilon (bottom row) = +29, +26
 Gamma = -0.66

The results show that in the present sample socio-religious attitudes are correlated positively with stage of training, size and type of community of origin, political atmosphere in the childhood home, and reading of books on social questions. They are negatively correlated with the reading of Catholic newspapers and magazines, with childhood prejudice against minority groups, and authoritarian personality predisposition. The strongest negative correlation is found between authoritarianism and social attitudes, which varies from -0.6 to -0.8. No relationship was observed between socio-religious attitudes and degree of Americanization, social class, religious atmosphere of the childhood home,

amount of Catholic education, ethnicity, and age.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT OF JESUIT SCHOLASTICS

Chapter V analysed the cognitive, affective, and behavioral components of the attitudes of Jesuit scholastics towards various current issues, in order to find out the influence of Jesuit training on them. Chapter VI was an attempt to test the importance of certain selected sociological variables in the total attitude formation. The present chapter is a further step in the investigation of the behavioral component of socio-religious attitudes. In Chapter V an attempt was made to detect the behavioral predisposition--what a respondent might do in a given hypothetical situation. In the present chapter we attempt something which comes closest to an experiment. The difference is that we ask the respondent to state what he did in the past in actual historical situations. Therefore, this might be called an ex post facto experiment.

Social involvement here comprises (1) participating in discussions on social questions, informally or in formal groups, (2) participating in or organizing social action, in the past, present, or future, (3) having personal dealings with minority groups, (4) manifesting preferences for future apostolate, and (5) endorsing or rejecting certain proposed purposes of Jesuit

education. The general hypothesis of the thesis will be tested, namely, that the behavioral attitudes of the respondents are influenced by Jesuit training so that those higher up in the formation will be more involved in social problems than those who are lower down in the training period.

Discussions

From Table 85 we can see that the highest percentage (50) of Regents engage often in informal discussions on current affairs. Regents are teachers in high schools, and their kind of occupation lends itself to frequent conversations with students about current affairs. Other groups of scholastics are in houses of formation which are generally isolated. They spend most of their time in classes and study. This kind of life does not help to keep a constant interest in what is going on in the world. It is interesting to see that 43 per cent of the Juniors discuss current events often. This group of scholastics has been noted above for its more favorable socio-religious attitudes.

As for organized discussions on social questions in the form of seminars, panels, etc., there is an expected gradual progression. Only 14 per cent of the Novices have engaged in such discussions in the last three months, while 40 per cent of the Theologians have participated in them. The present noviceship schedule offers scant opportunities for organized discussions on questions which are not strictly connected with spiritual things. But it is surprising to see that only 37 per cent of the Regents

TABLE 85.--Frequency of informal discussions on current affairs, by grades of training

Freq. of disc.	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	Overall%
Often	32% (7)	43% (6)	35% (7)	50% (8)	25% (5)	30% (3)	35%(36)
Occasionally	68 (15)	57 (8)	65 (13)	50 (8)	75 (15)	70 (7)	65 (66)

TABLE 86.--Participation in organized discussions on social questions in the last three months, by grades of training

Yes	14 (3)	29 (4)	45 (9)	37 (6)	30 (6)	40 (4)	31 (32)
No	86 (19)	71 (10)	55 (11)	63 (10)	70 (14)	60 (6)	69 (70)

TABLE 87.--Participation in organized social action since entrance into the Society of Jesus, by grades of training

Yes	23 (5)	50 (7)	90 (18)	81 (13)	65 (13)	60 (6)	59 (62)
No	73 (16)	43 (6)	10 (2)	19 (3)	30 (6)	40 (4)	36 (37)
Not indicated	4 (1)	7 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	5 (3)

have participated in organized discussions.

Social action

Sixty-two per cent of the respondents have taken part in organized social action since entrance into the Society. Ninety per cent of the Philosophers and 81 per cent of the Regents have participated in such apostolate. However, only 60 and 62 per cent of the Theologians have participated in social action. This is because it is only recently that scholastics have been permitted and encouraged to engage in some form of the apostolate while they are in their studies. The purpose is to let them have some form of in-service training. The Theologians who have been in the Society of Jesus for about ten to thirteen years did not have such opportunities in the early years of their formation.

Only 30 per cent of the respondents are at present engaged in some form of social action. The highest percentage is with the Philosophers--55 per cent. The Novices have the smallest percentage (14), since such opportunities are rarely available to them at present. Thirty-seven per cent of the respondents say they have definite plans for social action within the next year. Here again the Philosophers have the highest percentage--55. Only 14 per cent of the sample have organized their own social action group. The largest percentage is with the Regents--50. This is because more opportunities are available to Regents to organize high school students for any social action project. We can say on the whole that once the noviceship is finished, 30 per cent or more of

TABLE 88.--Present participation in organized social action, by grades of training

Participation	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	Overall1%
Yes	14% (3)	36% (5)	55%(11)	25% (4)	25% (5)	30% (3)	30%(31)
No	77 (17)	57 (8)	45 (9)	75 (12)	70 (14)	70 (7)	64 (67)
Not indicated	9 (2)	7 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	0 (0)	6 (4)

TABLE 89.--Plans for future participation in social action, by grades of training

Yes	32 (7)	43 (6)	55 (11)	31 (5)	30 (6)	30 (3)	37 (38)
No	59 (13)	57 (8)	45 (9)	63 (10)	65 (13)	70 (7)	58 (60)
Not indicated	9 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (1)	5 (1)	0 (0)	5 (4)

TABLE 90.--Organizing social action groups, by grades of training

Yes	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	50 (8)	15 (3)	40 (4)	14 (15)
No	100 (22)	100 (14)	100 (20)	50 (8)	80 (16)	50 (5)	82 (85)
Not indicated	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (1)	10 (1)	4 (2)

the scholastics get involved in social action. However, they do not seem to increase their involvement as they progress through the training. In the future, it is to be expected that Jesuit scholastics will go in for greater participation in social action.

Contacts with minority groups

The greater majority of the respondents have visited Negroes in their homes and have seen and visited slums and ghettos. However, the Novices have had the least opportunities for first hand knowledge of poverty. Since most Jesuits work in large cities, it is important for them to get this first-hand experience of the problems of the cities. If the rest of Jesuit scholastics are like the present sample, then we can be optimistic about the Jesuit priests of the future.

Preferences for future apostolate

It is clear that the vast majority of the respondents give education as their first preference for future work in the Society of Jesus. Education has majority support (64 per cent) both of the whole sample and of each group within the sample, but the percentage varies considerably from group to group. The lowest percentage is with the Juniors and Regents. The latter is a surprise since Regents are actually engaged in the educational apostolate. We cannot say that failures and disappointments in the teaching career have turned their eyes to other forms of apostolate, since our sample is made of first year Regents who are just beginning their teaching career. It is likely, then, that at this time

TABLE 91.--Contacts with Negroes, by grades of training

Contacts	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	Overall%
Yes	14% (3)	86%(12)	95%(19)	100%(16)	95%(19)	80% (8)	74%(77)
No	86 (19)	14 (2)	5 (1)	0 (0)	5 (1)	20 (2)	26 (25)

TABLE 92.--Visiting slums and ghettos, by grades of training

Yes	32 (7)	86 (12)	100 (20)	94 (15)	85 (17)	100 (10)	78 (81)
No	68 (15)	14 (2)	0 (0)	6 (1)	15 (3)	0 (0)	22 (21)

TABLE 93.--Preferences for future apostolic works

Apostolic works	1N	1J	1P	1R	1T	3T	Overall1%
Education ^a	55%(12)	41% (6)	80%(16)	44% (7)	90%(18)	80% (8)	64%(67)
Scholarship ^b	(3)	(3)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(1)	9 (9)
Social work	(2)	(1)	(0)	(2)	(1)	(1)	7 (7)
Counseling ^c	(3)	(1)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)	6 (6)
Foreign missions	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	(0)	(0)	6 (6)
Communic. arts	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	4 (4)
Pastoral work ^d	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	1 (1)
Not indicated	(0)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	3 (2)
Total	(22)	(14)	(20)	(16)	(20)	(10)	100(102)

^aTeaching in Jesuit high schools and universities; teaching in non-Jesuit colleges and universities; educational administration; adult education.

^bResearch and writing.

^cPsychological, educational, and spiritual counseling.

^dParish work; conducting spiritual retreats.

various other forms of apostolate are coming to their notice for the first time.

Table 94 compares the present findings with those of the Survey of American Jesuits conducted by the Planning Committee for the 1967 Conference on the Total Development of the Jesuit Priest. They found that out of 2043 scholastics surveyed, 18.4 per cent were inclined to high school teaching, 30.3 per cent to college teaching, 3.3 per cent to teaching Jesuits, and 4.9 per cent were interested in educational administration. That gives us a total of 56.9 per cent of Jesuit scholastics who are inclined to the educational apostolate.¹ Table 94 shows that the present sample has a greater percentage interested in educational and scholarly work, while the total group of American Jesuit scholastics have a higher percentage interested in the foreign missions and pastoral work. That there is a greater emphasis on the educational apostolate in the two provinces under study is also born out by the fact that the Chicago province has the highest percentage of priests with higher academic degrees--M.A. and over--among all the provinces of the American Assistancy.²

That only 7 per cent of the thesis sample are interested in social work is contrary to expectation. There is a commonly held opinion that the younger men in the Society of Jesus are

¹Proceedings of the Conference on the Total Development of the Jesuit Priest, Vol. I: Survey of American Jesuits, p. 138.

²Ibid., Vol. II, Pt. 2: Presentation Papers, p. 16.

losing their confidence in the educational apostolate and turning to social work instead. The findings of this thesis prove that the opinion has no grounding.

TABLE 94.--Preferences for apostolic works of the thesis sample compared with those of all American Jesuit scholastics

Apostolic work	All American schols. ^a	Thesis sample
Education ^b	56.9%(1164)	64%(67)
Foreign missions	9.8 (200)	6 (6)
Research and writing	6.2 (126)	9 (9)
Parish work, retreats	5.0 (103)	1 (1)
Other	16.4 (336)	17 (17)
Not indicated	5.6 (114)	3 (2)
Total	99.0 (2043)	100(102)

^aSource: Proceedings of the Conference on the Total Development of the Jesuit Priest, Vol. I: Survey of American Jesuits, p. 138.

^bHigh school teaching, college teaching, teaching Jesuits, administration.

Among other apostolates, 6 per cent are interested in the foreign missions. This number is smaller than in previous years. Four per cent show interest in the communication arts. This seems to be a new form of apostolate opening up in the Church because of the great importance of communications media in the modern technological world. Finally, only 1 per cent are interested in pastoral work and retreat giving. Since this is a very

important ministry in the modern urban church, the small number of respondents interested in it poses questions for the future.

Ideas on purposes of Jesuit education

Ninety-one per cent of the respondents consider forming socially responsible Christians as a very important purpose of Jesuit education. The next four purposes are in that order: training leaders for the community and nation; training students to think for themselves; training lay leaders for the Church; and training students to be open to other races and nations. The more religious purposes, namely, fostering vocations to the priesthood and religious life, forming practising Catholics, and training young men in pre-marital chastity, are given seventh, eighth, and eleventh places respectively. The two most rejected purposes are: developing patriotic Americans, and forming well-mannered gentlemen. However, only 5 per cent of the respondents consider these purposes of no importance. On the whole, it is clear that the great majority of respondents realize the social responsibility of Jesuit schools.

Summary

This chapter investigated the actual involvement of the respondents in ameliorating social conditions. Thirty-five per cent often discuss social questions, and 32 per cent have taken part in organized discussions of that type within the last three months. The difference in percentages in the various groups is not considerable, except understandably in that of the Novices,

which is low. Fifty-nine per cent have taken part in organized social action since their entrance into the Society. Thirty per cent are involved in present social action, and 37 per cent have definite plans for such involvement within the next year. The most involved group is that of the Philosophers. The groups following Regency are lower in involvement. Fourteen per cent have organized their own social action group. As many as 50 per cent of the Regents have organized action groups. Except for the Novices, more than 80 per cent of the respondents in every group have visited Negroes in their homes and also people living in slums and ghettos.

TABLE 95.--Endorsement of a list of purposes of Jesuit education

Purposes	Supporting	Rejecting
Forming socially responsible Christians . . .	91%(95)	0% (0)
Training leaders for the community & nation .	88 (92)	0 (0)
Training students to think for themselves . .	88 (92)	0 (0)
Training lay leaders for the Church	87 (91)	0 (0)
Training students to be open to other peoples	86 (89)	0 (0)
Training students to serve the poor & needy .	57 (59)	0 (0)
Fostering vocations to priesthood & rel. life	33 (34)	2 (2)
Forming practising Catholics	33 (34)	2 (2)
Developing patriotic Americans	28 (29)	5 (5)
Preparing students for good jobs	23 (24)	2 (2)
Training youth in pre-marital chastity . . .	19 (20)	4 (4)
Forming well-mannered gentlemen	14 (15)	5 (5)

However, the great majority of respondents in the whole sample and in every group of the sample opt for teaching as a first preference for future apostolate in the Society. Only 7 per cent are interested in social work and 6 per cent in the inter-

national apostolate. In their teaching career most respondents are likely to stress the social responsibilities of graduates of Jesuit schools, since the five purposes which are at the top of the list in endorsement have to do with social responsibility. All the groups give a high support to the following purpose of Jesuit education, namely, training socially responsible Christians.

CHAPTER VIII

INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS

Summary of findings

From the data presented in the previous chapters the following conclusions can be drawn. It was hypothesized that religious training influenced the socio-religious attitudes of Jesuit scholastics. The findings of the thesis gave modest evidence to support such a point of view.

As we moved from one grade to another, a greater and greater percentage of respondents reflected attitudes which showed a progressively growing internalization of Christian principles and a better knowledge of facts interpreted in the light of the social sciences. Because of the nature of the sample it was not possible to find out whether the attitude change was a result of maturity or not. In any case, we can say that the graded course of training, to which a candidate to the Society of Jesus is subjected, makes use of his own psychological and emotional forces to foster a change and growth in knowledge, emotional maturity, and a sense of social responsibility.

It was observed, however, that when it came to actual participation in action for planned social change, there seemed to be no relationship between training and actual participation.

This is due to the fact that the idea of participation in the social apostolate has come to be permitted, accepted, and encouraged only in the last five years. Scholastics who are in the later stages of formation have not been trained from their earliest years in the religious life to involve themselves in social action. From the trend which is observed in the present system of training, we can predict that Jesuit priests of the future will involve themselves more and more in the problems of modern society.

It was hypothesized that the variation in socio-religious attitudes is attributable to differences in grades of training, personality predisposition, social background, and socialization. This hypothesis was also generally sustained.

When the total score on the SRAS was taken as an indicant of socio-religious attitudes and its relationship with twelve intervening variables was tested, the following conclusions ensued. Socio-religious attitudes were positively related to the stage of training, size and type of community of origin, political atmosphere of the childhood home, and the reading of books on social questions. Though not enough data was obtained to test the difference in attitudes of those with rural and urban backgrounds, it was possible to compare the inner-city dwellers with suburbanites. The latter had a higher score on the SRAS. It was observed that the suburbanites were from the upper classes, so that the difference in attitudes could also be attributed to social class difference.

As for the political atmosphere in the childhood home, those who were from "moderate" families had a higher score than those from "conservative" or "liberal" families. Those whose parents had a party affiliation had "better" attitudes than those whose families had no party affiliation. The interest which parents show in current affairs and the discussion which goes on in the home serve to create an interest in the children which survives through adult life.

The reading of books on social problems is either a sign of a previous favorable disposition towards and keen interest in such matters or it is a cause of such interest and disposition. From the data of the thesis, the priorities in time could not be established. So reading can be taken as a predictor rather than a cause. Those who are interested in social matters are led to search for such reading which will affirm their attitudes or increase their knowledge.

It was further observed that socio-religious attitudes were negatively correlated with the reading of Catholic newspapers and magazines, with childhood prejudice against Negroes, and with authoritarian personality disposition. The latter two findings were in conformity with the hypotheses. But the reading of Catholic newspapers and magazines was a surprise, especially since the most frequently mentioned newspaper was The national Catholic reporter, which is an avant-garde newspaper catering to the liberal Catholic intellectual. Because of the impossibility of investigating this anomaly further, the writer does not wish to draw

any conclusions.

The strongest inverse relationship was observed between authoritarianism and socio-religious attitudes ($r_s = -0.6$ to -0.8 .) This was expected though the extent of it was not estimated by the writer. So the result was most gratifying, especially because it not only undeniably confirmed a hypothesis, but also proved the validity of his socio-religious attitude scale. The negative relationship between childhood prejudice and socio-religious attitudes is distressing, because it shows that Jesuit training is not able to change the attitudes of candidates towards racial minorities. It is hoped that Father Arrupe's recommendation that younger Jesuits should be thoroughly trained from the novitiate onward in the principles of racial justice and charity, will be put into practice.

Finally, no significant relationship was observed between socio-religious attitudes and degree of Americanization, social class, religious atmosphere of the childhood home, amount of Catholic education, ethnicity, and age. It is very interesting to see that those variables which are properly spoken of as social background variables, namely, cultural assimilation measured by the number of generations in America, social class, and ethnic group, are found to be unrelated to the socio-religious attitudes of Jesuit scholastics. This finding differs significantly from existing theory and research.

Since the sample was too small, there was not enough data on the amount of childhood Catholic education to make the findings

relevant. Future investigations into these variables will have to make use of much larger samples.

On the whole, the socio-religious attitudes of Jesuit scholastics may be said to be excellent according to the norm of Christian social principles, except in three areas. These are open housing, the limits of private property, and internationalism. The first two are delicate and controversial issues--and Jesuit scholastics seem to reflect the attitudes of most Catholics. The absence of internationalism shows that they are somewhat isolationist like the older generation of Jesuits and indeed like most Americans. However, the Jesuit of the future will be called upon to shed his parochialism. As John Blewett says,

The Jesuit's attitude toward life should be international because he is a man; a Catholic; a member of a Society essentially pointed toward work in whatever part of the world is indicated; a sharer in a world unified in part by its awareness of terrible need in many sections; a leader of men in a country where a new humanism, tributary of every culture of the world, is being shaped.¹

Relationship of the findings to theory

The main theoretical problem studied was the influence of religion on socio-economic life. Religious education is an arm of social control used by religion to influence its adherents in conforming to its norms. The Society of Jesus is a socio-religious sub-group within the larger organization of the Roman Catholic

¹John E. Blewett, S.J., "The international dimension in the education of American Jesuits," Proceedings of the Conference on the Total Development of the Jesuit Priest, Vol. II, Pt. I: Presentation Papers, p. 198.

Church. As such, it acts as a mediator between the parent organization and the individual Jesuit. As a primary group, the Society of Jesus is able to communicate to its members the ideology and vision of reality of the Church. As Lenski says, "The norms of socio-religious sub-groups are constantly reinforced in those intimate, highly valued social relationships which are so crucial in the shaping of personality."¹

It is true that much is to be desired by way of academic training in the social formation of Jesuit scholastics. But the training they receive is able to give them at least a framework of moral and theological concepts which influence their thinking and judging of social issues. As such, Jesuit formation may be said to have been successful in forming attitudes which are in conformity with Christian social principles. In the words of Sister M. Anthony Claret,

In the socialization of its members, the religious subcommunity can be expected to pass on its values as criteria for judgment. To the extent that the religious subcommunity has internalized the values of the Church, to that extent only may it act as an agent of socialization in socio-religious values for its members.²

The process of attitude change can be explained Leon Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance.³ According to this theory, there has to be a balance between the cognitive and affec-

¹Op. cit., p. 320.

²Op. cit., p. 17.

³See Leon Festinger, A theory of cognitive dissonance (Evanston, 1957.)

tive components of an attitude. When new knowledge is supplied, an imbalance is created between this knowledge and the previous feeling. For example, let us suppose that a person considers Negroes to be innately inferior in intelligence to whites. This person comes across studies which show that Negro children who are put in surroundings which are favorable to intellectual growth and given the same schooling as privileged white children have about the same I.Q. as white children. This new knowledge is likely to cause a tension in the person because of its contradiction with his previous feeling. There is a tendency in him to reduce this tension by conforming his feeling to the new knowledge. Thus an attitude change is brought about.

We have seen in the thesis that it is possible for a person to overcome the strong influences of his social class and ethnic background. The Society of Jesus like any religious order in the Roman Catholic Church can be looked upon as a total institution which seeks to resocialize the candidates to give them the attitudes, values, behavior, and self-conceptions required to fulfill their new roles. The aim is to make the person over in fundamental ways and to effect a break with the past. Erving Goffman gives the elements of the process of resocialization. They are (1) total control over the individual, (2) suppression of past statuses, (3) denial of the moral worth of the old self, (4) participation of the individual in his own resocialization, (5) extreme sanctions, and (6) intensification of peer group pressures

and support.¹ All of these elements are present in varying degrees in the novitiate training of a Jesuit, and in lesser degrees throughout his formation. This would explain how class or caste consciousness is reduced if not eliminated.

On the suppression of prior statuses, Sanford Dornbusch's description of the treatment given to a new cadet in a military academy is reminiscent of a Jesuit novice's experiences.

The new cadet, or "swab," is the lowest of the low. The assignment of low status encourages the cadet to place a high value on successfully completing the steps in an academy career, and requires that there be a loss of identity based on pre-existing statuses. This clean break with the past must be achieved in a relatively short period. For two months, therefore, the swab is not allowed to leave the base or engage in social intercourse with non-cadets. This complete isolation helps to produce a unified group of swabs, rather than a heterogeneous collection of persons of high and low status. Uniforms are issued on the first day, and discussions of wealth and family background are taboo. Although the pay of the cadet is very low, he is not permitted to receive money from home. The role of the cadet must supersede other roles the individual has been accustomed to play. There are few clues left which will reveal social status in the outside world.²

With the extensive changes that are going on in the present training of the Jesuit from the novitiate on, many of these elements of resocialization have been eliminated. The individuality and personality of the candidates are affirmed much more and given ample scope to develop. What this will do to the self-concept and social consciousness of the future Jesuit, and indeed to the internal cohesion of the Society of Jesus as a religious

¹Erving Goffman, "On the characteristics of total institutions," Asylums (Garden City, N.Y., 1961), pp. 1-124.

²Sanford M. Dornbusch, "The military academy as an assimilating institution," Social Forces, XXIII, No. 4 (1955).

order, time alone will show.

Limitations of the study and unanswered questions

The main limitation of the study is with regard to the original design, specifically the selection of population. The research yields less than it might have because it was limited to a relatively homogeneous population, that is, current scholastics of the Jesuit order in the Chicago and Detroit provinces. The writer sought to remedy this lack by administering the F Scale and the SRAS to a group of twenty Loyola students. This helped somewhat to make a comparison of Jesuit scholastics with an out-group.

However, the writer's major attempt to find differences in social outlook within six grade levels and to relate these differences to internal gradations of Jesuit seminary training was less than definitive. An adequate study of such a type would involve much more complex research procedures, such as intensive in-depth interviewing, participant observation, projective techniques, etc. More interesting and probably more yielding of findings in terms of future research will be the following kinds of comparisons:

1. Comparison of Jesuit scholastics with lay Catholics of comparable age groups.
2. Comparison of Jesuit scholastics with Jesuit priests of different age groups.
3. Comparison of Jesuit scholastics with diocesan seminarians and priests, and with scholastics and priests of other

religious orders.

The second limitation of the study is with regard to the sample size. Instead of surveying the whole population of six selected classes in two provinces, either a census or a probability sampling of selected classes of Jesuit scholastics in all the provinces of the Society of Jesus in the United States would have produced much better results. With a sample size about five or six times larger than the present one more sophisticated statistical techniques, such as multivariate analysis, multiple regression, etc. could be employed with profit. In probability sampling statistical tests to determine the significance of the differences between percentages could be made. In the writer's thesis, the consistent direction of difference is considered more important than mere quantitative difference.

Thirdly, we have the problem of training versus self-selection. This relates to the heart of the thesis, namely, that Jesuit training is the main independent variable in attitude change. But how can we know definitively whether a more favorable outlook on a socio-religious issue is due to seminary experience as opposed to some alternate factor such as prior influences, self-selection, class background, etc.? How do we know that scholastics are not more liberal than Loyola students to begin with rather than as a result of training? A tentative answer is proposed to this question by showing that beginners in Jesuit training are very similar to Loyola students in attitudes. But the smallness of the sample as also lack of data on the social

background of the Loyola students precludes any apodictic conclusion.

Finally, the present thesis does not relate each item of the socio-religious attitude scale to the background variables. It is seen, for example, that there is no relation between liberalism and social class for all the items of the attitude scale as a totality. But the absence of such a relationship between an individual item and social class has not been proved. In other words, the data can be subjected to more statistical analysis in future studies. The fear of blowing up the present thesis to uncontrollable proportions deterred the writer from undertaking any further processing.

Summary of the thesis

This study has sought to identify the main influences in the attitude formation of the members of a religious order. According to the theory of the influence of religion on socio-economic life, we have hypothesized that religious training is the decisive factor in the process of attitude change. However, variables of social background and socialization in various ways either impede or promote this process.

The procedure was to test the socio-religious attitudes of six groups of Jesuit scholastics, each of which is at the threshold of an important step in the training. The study focused on first year Novices, first year Juniors, first year Philosophers, first year Regents, first year Theologians, and third year

Theologians. A group of Catholic college students was taken as a control group. A self-administered Likert-type attitude questionnaire covering important current social issues was mailed to the scholastics.

According to the findings, the general hypothesis of the influence of religious training on socio-religious attitudes was moderately confirmed. The type of community of origin, political atmosphere of the childhood home, and reading of books on social questions were found to be positively related with socio-religious attitudes. Childhood racial prejudice and authoritarianism were negatively correlated with socio-religious attitudes. The most marked relationship was between socio-religious attitudes and authoritarianism. The findings of this thesis do not support the belief of some sociologists that humanitarianism is negatively correlated with religiousness. Degree of assimilation, social class, spiritual soundness of the childhood home, amount of Catholic education, ethnicity, and age, were found to have no relationship with socio-religious attitudes.

Conclusion

The general conclusion must be that, in spite of the conspicuous absence of formal training for the social apostolate, the cognitive, affective, and behavioral attitudes of candidates to the Society of Jesus undergo a gradual transformation, so that they spontaneously evaluate social issues in the light of a vision of human life which derives from the great papal social

encyclicals and is reflected in the documents of the Second Vatican Council. However, no definite causation is attributed to Jesuit training as such. The writer wishes to recommend that purposive training of the Jesuit to take part in planned social change needs to be stepped up, so that the Society of Jesus may be equal to the challenge posed by the grave social problems of today's world. In the absence of such carefully planned orientation for witness to the social dimension of the Gospel message, the Society of Jesus may be doomed to irrelevance and even atrophy in a world whose main preoccupation is social and economic justice.

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SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY OF JESUIT SCHOLASTICS' ATTITUDES

Loyola University
6525 N. Sheridan Road
Chicago, Illinois 60626

Dear Brother in Christ, P.C.

I am requesting you to take part in a sociology research project in which you will be able to express your attitudes concerning several areas of current interest. You have been selected from a sample that includes most of the scholastics in the Mid-Western provinces.

This project has been approved by the Department of Sociology of the Graduate School of Loyola University. I am a graduate student at Loyola and I plan to use the information I get from this study as the basis of my thesis for the Master of Arts degree in sociology. This study also has the approval of both higher and local superiors.

The purpose of the survey is to gather the attitudes of Jesuits regarding current social issues. I will then analyze the attitudes of scholastics in different stages of training for important similarities and differences. So with your cooperation we may be able to find out how we may be different.

You will not have to give your name. Your answer will be kept strictly confidential.

I think you will find the questionnaire interesting and easy to answer. Most of the questions can be answered by a check mark in the space provided. It will take no more than half an hour of your time to fill out. Please answer it at your earliest convenience, and be sure to return it within three days to the person from whom you got it.

Thank you very much for taking the time to read this letter and a special thanks for filling out the questionnaire and returning it. Your good will and interested cooperation is very much appreciated. The success of the study depends in a 100 per cent return of all the questionnaires given out.

Sincerely yours in our Lord,
John C. Prabhu, S.J. (sd.)

Questionnaire

Part I

1. Name the house of the Society in which you are living at present. _____
2. What is your present status in the Society of Jesus? Check one.
☐ (1) First year Novice
☐ (2) First year Junior
☐ (3) First year Philosopher
☐ (4) First year Regent
☐ (5) First year Theologian
☐ (6) Third year Theologian
3. What is your age? Check one.
☐ (1) 19 or under
☐ (2) 20-24
☐ (3) 25-29
☐ (4) 30-34
☐ (5) 35-39
☐ (6) 40 and above
4. What is your province in the Society of Jesus? _____
5. What is your country of citizenship? _____
6. What is your race? Check one.
☐ (1) White
☐ (2) Negro
☐ (3) Other (specify) _____
7. What is the original nationality of your family on your father's side? (e.g., Irish, German, Polish, etc.)

8. What is the original nationality of your family on your mother's side?

9. If you are a U.S. citizen, were you born outside the United States? Check one.
☐ (1) Yes
☐ (2) No
10. Was either of your parents born outside the United States? Check as many as apply.
 Father

☐ Mother
☐ Neither

11. Were any of your grandparents born outside the United States? Check as many as apply.
- ☐ Paternal grandfather
☐ Paternal grandmother
☐ Maternal grandfather
☐ Maternal grandmother
☐ None of the above
12. What was the highest grade in school completed by your father? Check one.
- ☐ (1) Graduate or professional training
☐ (2) College graduate
☐ (3) Partial college education
☐ (4) High school graduate
☐ (5) Partial high school education
☐ (6) Junior high school (7th thru 9th grades)
☐ (7) Less than 7 years of school
13. What is your father's occupation? (Please specify details, for example, accountant at Marshall Field's, small grocery store owner, head janitor in local public school, etc. If your father is retired or deceased indicate what his occupation was at that point.)
-
14. The following is a listing of seven categories of occupations. Check a number which includes your father's occupation.
- ☐ (1) Higher executive, proprietor of large business (value over \$100,000), major professional (e.g., accountant, lawyer, physician, etc.)
☐ (2) Business manager in large concern, proprietor of medium business (value \$35,000-100,000), lesser professional (e.g., librarian, pharmacist, social worker, etc.)
☐ (3) Administrative personnel, proprietor of small business (value \$6,000-35,000), semi-professional (e.g., interior decorator, lab assistant, photographer, etc.), owner of farm (value \$25,000-35,000)
☐ (4) Clerical and sales worker, technician, proprietor of little business (value \$3,000-6,000), owner of farm (value \$10,000-20,000)
☐ (5) Skilled manual employee, owner of small farm (value under \$10,000)
☐ (6) Machine operator and semi-skilled employee, tenant farmer
☐ (7) Unskilled employee, share cropper
15. To which social class do you think your family belongs? Check one.

- ___(1) Upper
- ___(2) Middle
- ___(3) Working
- ___(4) Lower
- ___(5) Other _____

16. In the ten years preceding your entrance into the Society, where were you brought up? Check one.

- ___(1) Rural farm area
- ___(2) Rural non-farm area
- ___(3) Small town, less than 20,000
- ___(4) City, 20,000 to 100,000
- ___(5) Large city over 100,000
- ___(6) Suburb near large city

17. How spiritually sound was the religious atmosphere in your childhood home as you now see it? Check one.

- ___(1) Very sound
- ___(2) Fairly sound
- ___(3) Not very sound
- ___(4) Very poor

Comment? _____

18. Describe the political atmosphere in your childhood home. Check one.

- ___(1) Conservative Democrat
- ___(2) Conservative Republican
- ___(3) Moderate Democrat
- ___(4) Moderate Republican
- ___(5) Liberal Democrat
- ___(6) Liberal Republican
- ___(7) Other (specify) _____

Comment? _____

19. Indicate the years you attended public or Catholic schools before entering the Society, by circling the grades attended under each heading. Use a checkmark under graduate work.

	<u>GRAMMAR SCHOOL</u>	<u>HIGH SCH.</u>	<u>COLLEGE</u>	<u>GRAD SCH.</u>
Public school	1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8	1,2,3,4	1,2,3,4	___
Catholic school	1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8	1,2,3,4	1,2,3,4	___

20. How much non-ecclesiastical schooling have you had up till now? Check one.

- ___(1) High school graduate
- ___(2) Partial college education
- ___(3) College graduate
- ___(4) Graduate or professional training

21. What is (was) your Major? (If you have had more than one

major, mention only the one in which you acquired the most credits.) _____

22. Approximately how many credit hours (college level or higher) have you accumulated in the following? Fill in the number of hours after each.

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>NUMBER OF CREDITS</u>
Christian social doctrine	_____
Economics	_____
Political science	_____
Sociology	_____
Social or cultural anthropology	_____
General integrated "social science" courses .	_____

23. Check as many of the following documents as you have read from start to finish.

☐ Mater et magistra
☐ Pacem in terris
☐ Populorum progressio
☐ Pastoral constitution on the Church in the modern world
☐ The Thirty-First General Congregation's document on the social apostolate
☐ Father Arrupe's A letter on the interracial apostolate

24. Please list the names of all the newspapers you read regularly (as often as they come out.)

<u>CATHOLIC NEWSPAPERS</u>	<u>SECULAR NEWSPAPERS</u>
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

25. Please list all the names of magazines and periodicals you read regularly (as often as they come out.)

<u>CATHOL. MAGAZINES & PERIODICALS</u>	<u>SECUL. MAGAZINES & PERIODICALS</u>
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

26. Name any books you may have read in the last 6 months. Include only books you chose to read. In parentheses, next to the book title, state the classification--biography, novel, history, religion, etc.

<u>TITLE</u>	<u>CLASSIFICATN.</u>
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

27. If you could take a seminar or two on modern social problems (e.g., urban riots, poverty, crime, etc.), how much benefit would you expect from the following leaders of such a class? Check one response after each.

	<u>I would expect</u>			
	<u>v. much</u>	<u>some</u>	<u>a little</u>	<u>no</u>
	<u>benefit</u>	<u>benefit</u>	<u>benefit</u>	<u>benefit</u>
Lay sociologist	_____	_____	_____	_____
Priest sociologist	_____	_____	_____	_____
Clinical psychologist	_____	_____	_____	_____
Theologian	_____	_____	_____	_____
Negro civil rights leader	_____	_____	_____	_____
White mayor of large metropolis	_____	_____	_____	_____
Suburban mayor	_____	_____	_____	_____
Bishop of metropolitan diocese.	_____	_____	_____	_____
Local politician	_____	_____	_____	_____
Protestant minister	_____	_____	_____	_____
Social worker	_____	_____	_____	_____
Jesuit university dean	_____	_____	_____	_____
Suburban pastor	_____	_____	_____	_____
Inner-city pastor	_____	_____	_____	_____
Police superintendent	_____	_____	_____	_____
Real estate agent	_____	_____	_____	_____
Inner-city school teacher	_____	_____	_____	_____
Black power leader	_____	_____	_____	_____
Negro clergyman	_____	_____	_____	_____
Rabbi	_____	_____	_____	_____
Nun teaching in parochial school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Others (list) _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

28. How would you describe your feelings towards Negroes before you entered the Society? Check only one.
- ___(1) Very prejudiced (given to overgeneralizing about Negroes)
- ___(2) Slightly prejudiced (working to overcome prejudice by reading, conversation with Negroes, etc.)
- ___(3) Not prejudiced (making no distinction on the basis of race)
- ___(4) Well disposed (inviting Negro friends into the home, participating in civil rights organizations, etc.)

Part II

Directions

Part II consists of a series of statements expressing

opinions. For each statement there are a set of seven possible answers. They are--

- +1 Agree slightly
- +2 Agree generally
- +3 Agree strongly
- 0 No opinion or uncertain
- 1 Disagree slightly
- 2 Disagree generally
- 3 Disagree strongly

You are asked to read each statement and then write a plus one (+1) in the space provided after the number of the statement, if you agree slightly; plus two (+2) if you agree generally, and so forth, giving one of the seven possible answers to each statement. For example--

57. +2 Most traffic accidents are caused by careless drivers.

There are no answers that will be scored right or wrong. Just answer according to your preferences. Be sure to answer every question in some way. Do not spend too much time on each statement.

Questionnaire

1. ___ Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
2. ___ No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough will power.
3. ___ Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.
4. ___ Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.
5. ___ Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question.
6. ___ When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things.
7. ___ A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people.
8. ___ What youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and

country.

9. ___ Some people are born with an urge to jump from high places.
10. ___ Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around and mix together so much, a person has to protect himself especially carefully against catching an infection or disease from them.
11. ___ An insult to our honor should always be punished.
12. ___ Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
13. ___ It is best to use some prewar authorities in Germany to keep order and prevent chaos.
14. ___ What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.
15. ___ Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse.
16. ___ There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.
17. ___ People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.
18. ___ Some day it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.
19. ___ The true American way of life is disappearing so fast that force may be necessary to preserve it.
20. ___ Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.
21. ___ Wars and social troubles may someday be ended by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.
22. ___ Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feebleminded people.
23. ___ The wild sex life of the old Greeks and Romans was tame compared to some of the goings-on in this country, even in places where people might least expect it.

24. ___ If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.
25. ___ Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.
26. ___ Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals and ought to be severely punished.
27. ___ The business man and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor.
28. ___ No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.
29. ___ Familiarity breeds contempt.
30. ___ Nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering.

Part III

Directions

Part III consists of a series of statements expressing opinions on current issues. For each statement there are a set of five possible answers.

SA Strongly agree
A Agree
U Uncertain
D Disagree
SD Strongly disagree

You are asked to read each statement and then write SA in the space provided after the number of the statement, if you strongly agree with it; A if you just agree, and so forth, giving one of the five possible answers to each statement. For example--

95. D The future of the world will be determined by the nation which has the strongest military power.

There are no right or wrong answers. The best answer is the one which best expresses your personal opinion. Please answer all the questions. Spend only a few moments on each statement.

Questionnaire

1. ___ For the most part, Negroes have as good employment opportunities in the United States as the whites.
2. ___ When a Negro family moves into an all-white neighborhood, the property values of all residences drop inevitably.
3. ___ The most fundamental cause of blighted neighborhoods is negligence and vandalism.
4. ___ Strong anti-riot legislation is the best way to prevent race riots in the cities.
5. ___ Disinclination to work and living beyond means are the main causes of poverty.
6. ___ Overpopulation is one of the greatest obstacles to the economic development of most of Asia and Latin America.
7. ___ Negro and white children should attend the same schools.
8. ___ Manual labor and unskilled jobs seem to fit the Negroes' ability better than more skilled or responsible work.
9. ___ Negroes must respect the rights of white people to maintain their own neighborhoods.
10. ___ Whenever I hear of marriages between whites and Negroes, I welcome them as a sign of improving race relations.
11. ___ Negroes should not claim their right to live in areas where they are not wanted.
12. ___ A person has the right to refuse to sell his home to Negroes.
13. ___ The best way for the United States to combat Communism is to severely punish its every act of aggression.
14. ___ The high rate of crime, illegitimacy, poverty, and ignorance among Negroes shows that they are not ready yet for civil rights.
15. ___ It is unfair to hire a Mexican farm laborer below the minimum wage even if he is willing to work for it.
16. ___ A charitable institution, like a Catholic hospital, may justifiably forbid the unionization of its personnel.
17. ___ To prevent the growth of slums, the government should

restrict the migration of Negroes and Puerto Ricans to the cities.

18. ___ A private country club has the right to exclude qualified Negroes from membership.
19. ___ All Jesuits should be ready to spend part of their apostolic career in the developing countries.
20. ___ If superiors permit it, I would wish to live in an inner-city neighborhood which is predominantly colored.
21. ___ When I am absorbed in my own work, I tend to neglect the rest of the world.
22. ___ The best way to improve world conditions is for each man to attend seriously to his own reform.
23. ___ When I hear of people who are deprived of freedom and of just treatment I find myself planning how I can help them.
24. ___ A priest should be as deeply involved in the social welfare of people as he is in giving purely spiritual or sacramental services.
25. ___ The effort of individuals is more important than government planning in solving social and economic problems.
26. ___ The United States is doing more than its share in giving economic aid to the developing nations.
27. ___ Jesuits should get more involved in such areas as race relations, war on poverty, labor relations, etc.
28. ___ Religious leaders should not take a public stand on issues which are connected with politics.
29. ___ The Society of Jesus has done enough to harmonize race relations in this country.
30. ___ Catholics must cooperate in social action projects, such as running a non-profit employment agency for the unemployed poor, which are originated by Protestants or Jews.

Part IV

1. How many credit hours of academic courses are you taking this semester? _____
2. How often do you informally discuss current affairs? (e.g.,

race issues, legislation before Congress, Vietnam.) Check only one.

- ☐ (1) Very often (several times a day)
☐ (2) Often (once a day)
☐ (3) Occasionally (few times a week)
☐ (4) Seldom (few times a month)
☐ (5) Never

3. Have you participated in any organized discussion on social questions in the last three months? (e.g., as a panelist, discussant, speaker, delegate in a class, meeting, or hearing.) Check one.

- ☐ (1) Yes*
☐ (2) No

4. *If yes, mention all occurrences, including the organizations, occasions, and topics.

<u>ORGANIZATION</u>	<u>OCCASION</u>	<u>TOPIC</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

5. Since your entrance into the Society, have you participated in any organized social action? (e.g., tutoring underprivileged children, civil rights demonstration, etc.) Check one.

- ☐ (1) Yes**
☐ (2) No

6. **If yes, name the organization(s) of which you were an active member.

7. Are you presently involved in any organized social action? Check one.

- ☐ (1) Yes***
☐ (2) No

8. ***If yes, please name the organization(s) of which you are an active member.

9. Have you visited the home of a Negro person since you entered the Society? Check one.

- ☐ (1) Yes
☐ (2) No

10. Have you visited people living in slums and ghettos since you entered the Society? Check one.

- ☐ (1) Yes
☐ (2) No

11. Have you organized your own social action group since your entrance into the Society? Check one.

- ☐ (1) Yes*
☐ (2) No

12. *If yes, please describe briefly. _____

13. The following is a list of possible objectives which Jesuit high schools might aim at. What importance do you give to these objectives? Check one response after each.

	<u>Very</u> <u>imp.</u>	<u>Some</u> <u>imp.</u>	<u>Little</u> <u>imp.</u>	<u>Of no</u> <u>imp.</u>
Training lay leaders for the Church . . .	_____	_____	_____	_____
Training leaders for the comm. & nation	_____	_____	_____	_____
Fostering vocations to religious life	_____	_____	_____	_____
Forming socially responsible Christians	_____	_____	_____	_____
Forming well-mannered gentlemen	_____	_____	_____	_____
Forming practising Catholics	_____	_____	_____	_____
Training youth in pre-marital chastity.	_____	_____	_____	_____
Training students to be open to others.	_____	_____	_____	_____
Developing patriotic Americans	_____	_____	_____	_____
Training students to think	_____	_____	_____	_____
Preparing students for good jobs . . .	_____	_____	_____	_____
Training students to serve the poor . .	_____	_____	_____	_____
Other objectives (list):	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

14. Do you have definite plans for participating in any social action within the next year? Check one.

- ☐ (1) Yes*
☐ (2) No

15. *If yes, please describe briefly. _____

16. What are your preferences for future apostolate in the Society? (e.g., writing, retreats, high school teaching, counseling, etc.)

- 1st preference _____
 2nd preference _____
 3rd preference _____
 Comment? _____

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Reverend John C. Prabhu, S.J. has been read and approved by the director of the thesis. Furthermore, the final copies have been examined by the director and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

June 7, 1968
Date

Koss P. Achere, Ph.D.
Signature of Adviser